

THE
METHODIST QUARTERLY REVIEW.

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ART. I.—INFANT BAPTISM AND CHURCH MEMBERSHIP.

1. *Christian Nurture*, by Dr. BUSHNELL. Hartford.
2. *Childhood*, OLIN'S Sermons. Harper & Brothers.
3. *Childhood and the Church*, by T. R. F. MERCEIN. A. D. F. Randolph. 1858.
4. *Bertha and her Baptism*, Boston: S. K. Whipple & Co. 1857.
5. *The Teknobaptist* Boston: John Wilson, Sen. 1857.

WHAT is the relation of a human soul at the beginning of its immortality to Christ and his Church? This is the *quæstio vexata* to-day, both of theology and of Church order. It demands for its investigation and settlement the most strenuous action of the profoundest intellects and profoundest hearts. The Church is moving up to a common ground of faith and practice. The old banners that filled contending sects with fury are being cast aside, and the flag, made white in the blood of the Lamb, is glittering before the hosts of the redeemed, uniting under the great Captain of their salvation. In the midst of this crystalization, and because of it, springs up this radical question, full of importance; to many, full of difficulty: Shall the Church have only intelligent believers in its fold, or shall she carry the babes in her bosom? Shall she be an encamped army, made up of men of war, ever assailing, ever conquering the world, but never losing her martial style or force? or shall she be a colony, armed and invading, yet carrying in itself all the elements of its maturity, transformed by the working of these forces into a state, to be raised by a gradual but inevitable growth to a power in the earth, and in due time to the sole authority? How shall she treat those who are in their earliest infancy? Shall they be made, by her purposed neglect, to pass through the fires of Moloch that burn deadlier around our Christian homes than even in

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ancient heathendom, with certain death to all save the few who marvelously creep forth, scarred and maimed, compelled to bear the fruit of her sin through all their future being; or shall she put underneath and round about them from the dawn of their immortality her everlasting arms? To answer this question is the duty and destiny of the Church of to-day. There is to be a radical sifting and replacing of all her doctrine and discipline from this stand-point. The appearance of many essays within a few years, from the strongest exponents of the various opinions, clearly foretells and briefly foreruns the work of the Church for this and the coming generation.

The treatises named above are eminent types at once of the diversity and strength of these sentiments. Dr. Bushnell's work long since startled his communion with the boldness and force of its statements; but his apparent desire to reduce Calvinism and Socinianism to one amalgam has destroyed much of its influence. It reveals the conflict in himself rather than settles it in the general Church. Dr. Olin's is one of those masterly essays of his which seem to flash truth upon the intuitions, like John's writings, rather than make a broad, macadamized road for the logical understanding as Paul does, and as most minds pre-eminently need. It is therefore both satisfactory and unsatisfactory, showing you the truth as the eye sees the sun, but giving you no data by which you can reduce it to practice, either in formularies of doctrine or ceremonies of service. *Bertha and her Baptism* is an argument from the Calvinistic stand-point, admirably constructed in the narrative and conversational form, said to be by Dr. Adams, of Boston. *The Teknobaptist* is a very able argument, by a Baptist, in the form of a dialogue between a Calvinist, an Arminian, and a Baptist, the last, of course, conquering, though the Arminian, fortunately for his victor, represents the High Church rather than the Methodist view. The posthumous pamphlet of Mr. Mercein shows what service he would have done the Church, had he lived, in its great conflict for God and the truth. As we read its original thought, exquisite in statement and fiery with feeling, we can but exclaim,

"Heu pietas, heu prisca fides, invictaque bello
Dextera."

Amid the contending ranks of ancient defenders and opponents of this doctrine, appears Arminianism, as set forth in the Methodist Church, and we design to show that her doctrine alone can satisfy the conditions of the problem, and that on the basis of the belief on which she builds her impregnable towers, and from which rush forth her unconquerable armies, every Church must stand, and carrying it out to its legitimate results, make all her children sharers

in all its privileges, and responsible according to their measure for all its duties.

Every other system either falls into the absurdity of baptismal regeneration, or the equal absurdity that this ordinance is no ordinance; that it is no seal of the inward state of the receiver, but of that of some other person, as a father or mother, who have no more right to impose this upon their child in consequence of their faith, than the child has to impose it on them in consequence of its faith, supposing, as is not unusual, that he is converted before his parents are. They go farther, and say that this baptism does not constitute its recipient a member of the Church, but only "a child of the Church," an incomprehensible term. Says the author of *Bertha and her Baptism*: "We all know that not one baptized child of a true believer can be really a member of the Church in regular standing till he, like an unbaptized heathen convert, has repented of his sins and believed on the Lord Jesus." Such statements destroy the very doctrine they are set to defend. If it has no surer foothold, the common sense of the Church will soon abandon it. Let us carefully consider the Arminian view of the Gospel as applied to this ordinance.

We grant that baptism is the seal of a spiritual condition. It is the stamp which God requires us to affix to those he has made his own. It is the symbol, upon the body, of the work he has effected in the soul that occupies it. Thus we concede everything essential in the Baptist's idea of baptism. It is no mere christening, or consecration, or parental duty or desire, but the ordinance of Scripture properly applied to appropriate subjects. We grant also that this ordinance, as the Baptists claim that it should, places its recipient, whatever be his age or state of development, within the Church. It is as initiative and influential upon the infant as upon the most intelligent of mature converts. We claim that they are appropriate subjects for baptism and membership on the ground of their gracious condition in Christ, and therefore that they have a *right* to it, and all the relations and duties that follow it.

We claim that this right was conceded to them by the apostolic Church, as Scripture, tradition, and the necessities of the case, abundantly show; and finally we shall show that every excuse for neglecting it is more than answered by the uniform action of every one in other cases that involve the same difficulties with which the Baptist sentiment has unnaturally invested this duty. Thus we hope to prove that this ordinance agrees with the instincts of our nature, the fullness of the atonement, and the design of Christ in organizing his Church, and therefore, if properly embraced as a doctrine, and faithfully carried

out in practice, it will remove every difference of opinion and procedure among Christian Churches on this point, and contribute greatly to their perfect union. A little child shall lead the great sections of the Church to its desired communion in one Lord, one faith, and one baptism.

Let us consider the most important of these statements first. Baptism is the *right* of the infant because of his inward state of acceptance with God through the atonement of our Lord Jesus Christ. Every child when born into this world is born into a dispensation of grace. Whether in heathen or Christian lands, no child of Adam is without the application of that blood of sprinkling and regeneration. He is born virtually a Christian. To all, says the same God and Saviour that spoke to Jeremiah: "Before I formed thee in the belly I knew thee, and before thou camest forth out of the womb I sanctified thee." Some persons in our land who have given themselves over to the mystery of iniquity that worketh here, have had sent upon them a strong delusion that they should believe the lie that human beings can be born slaves. This is but the residuum of the fundamental idea of all monarchies and aristocracies that have distorted and destroyed humanity. Our great Declaration embodies in human law the opposite and Divine idea, long before declared in the Bible to be the corner-stone of the government of God—the perfect equality and liberty of every soul. This viper is crushed beneath its haughty foot before monarchist abroad and slaveocrat at home, in that great sentence yet to go out unto the ends of the world as the basis of all society, "All men are created free and equal." What is true in humanitarian and political philosophy, is the more true in spiritual science and law, and every Church creed ought to start with this statement, "*All souls are created free and equal.*" Some are not born slaves, as saith the Calvinist, following the adult and voluntary condition of their parents. They are not born free, to be instantly enslaved by an irresistible power, and only in rare cases to escape, by God's special decree, that everlasting bondage, as saith the *soi-disant* "New England" theologian. They are not born independent of Christ, gracelessly, licentiously free, as saith the Rationalist. But as every one, in spite of the momentary judicial perversion of the truth into a lie, is born entirely free and equal under our constitution, so into that greater state into which every human soul is born, and to which he owes allegiance, whether he acknowledge it or not, into the invisible but none the less present and potent Church of Christ, is every son of Adam born, and born free and Christian. This may be called assumption and the proof demanded. Consider

whither the negative leads. If it is not so, we sanctify the whole system of caste, from its heathen abomination up to its more refined but not less repugnant manifestations in European distinctions based on blood. We subscribe to that chief of the doctrines of devils which the Southern Church and State have bound as a frontlet between their eyes, and hold as their sole scepter in their right hand—that a man can be born the property of another man, both perchance begotten of the same father, in the same day, lying together in the same cradle, and at the same breast. We hesitate about giving God supremacy over his creatures and giving goodness and love the supremacy in him. We give Satan incalculably greater power than Christ over the race, and that, too, in the purely innocent and irresponsible epoch of its being. Then we must grant that this new immortal creature, whom an infinitely good God has placed in the universe, ere yet it has taken one step in its path of development, is an idolater, an infidel, a Mormon, though these systems of sin have never yet reached his ear, much less won the co-operation of his heart. In fine, we make the babe, born or unborn, a devil; and God, in all his efforts to redeem him, an intruder on domains rightfully belonging to his enemy; for in giving him the babes he grants the legitimacy of his sovereignty, even as (to compare great things with small) the rival claimants of Napoleon's throne would surrender the whole contest if they should acknowledge that his son was the real heir to his possessions.

Such a theology deserves and needs no logical opposition. It can never stand before the clear shining of the truth as it is in Jesus. Its opposite is as far above mere logical defense. Like all Gospel truth it has its seat in the purer reason, and needs but the simple statement to commend itself to every man's conscience and judgment in the sight of God. We must replace the deformed by the transformed. We must cast out this son of the bondwoman, this child of Jewish prejudice and narrowness, and admit as the cardinal doctrine of the Church, to be faithfully carried into all its life and practice, the divine truth, that every soul, when created, is born into the kingdom of God's dear Son. Heaven does, indeed, lie about us in our infancy, heaven in its purest and most powerful forms. Whatever be the faith of the parent, the undeveloped faith of the child is Christian. Christ is the light that lighteth every man that cometh, and *when he cometh*, into the world. The atonement spreads its wings of healing over every cradle in every clime. To be a son of Adam till we willfully cast away our birthright, is to be in Christ a son of God. To this favor the whole Church must come at last, if it ever fully express the favor of God.

But two questions of difficulty lie in the way of this doctrine, and they are, How does this consist with the freedom of man in accepting or rejecting the atonement? and, Does not regeneration necessarily follow willful transgression? It must consist with the first, for that is an absolute truth, and can yield to no foe. It owes no allegiance to the second, for that is an absolute error, made seeming true by the necessity of many, through their previous sin, to thus re-enter a regenerate state. The freedom of choice certainly is no more infringed upon by imparted grace than by imparted sin; and the received theology is in some cases impelled, and is always inclined to believe in this last godless dogma. Such a work of grace simply puts the soul in a free state, *ab initio*. It does not give the enemy the whole field to be filled with his tares, and then let the good man come along with his handful of wheat; but the wheat is sown first. Our connection with Adam corrupts and ruins us at our conception; our connection with the second Adam restores us to as fair a condition at the same point as it would have been had the first parents kept their first estate. So, with the hellish powers dragged away from the infantile throat, and with heavenly powers surrounding him, he grows to a sense of his nature and responsibility, of his dangers and duties, and, in perfect freedom amid the contending powers, makes his decision; and thus proceeds through his probationary career, till his choice is fixed, in the full exercise of the same freedom through his eternal being. No defense is needed of this doctrine of gracious ability, as it is a favorite one with our Church, has received the ablest advocacy of our ablest minds, is winning its widening way amid the fallen and falling systems of natural ability or inability, moderated or full, as the light riddles and consumes the darkness, and is yet to be known and loved of all Christians, and to permeate all theology.

The error involved in the second objection found entrance to our theology as well as others; only in ours it is an exotic, in theirs, indigenous. Even Watson seems to teach that regeneration must follow transgression. This is a vital point, and must be carefully examined. The only foes with whom we shall have a perilous conflict are of our own household, who believe in the salvation of all infants, on the ground of their justification, but do not believe that justification has wrought a work in them equivalent to regeneration; but when they have arrived at years of accountability, they must on their own faith be born again. We have three objections to this theory.

1. It destroys the validity of infant baptism. That is slain in the house of its friends; for the infant can *merit* baptism only on the

ground of his fitness for Church membership, and this fitness depends entirely on his regeneration. It will not do to say that mere deliverance from the curse of the law, without a grant of powers lost by that curse, if this were possible, which it is not, can give its recipient a fitness for membership in the Christian Church. Only those can rightfully enter it who are made *new creatures* in Christ Jesus. If he is not thus made he has no right to, and cannot really receive the ordinance of baptism. They must abandon this duty or that doctrine.

2. Again: all the blessings said to be given to the infant by the atonement are no blessings, if this view be true. These gifts are said to be the operations of the Holy Ghost, the prayers and blood of Christ, and the removal of the curse entailed by Adam. But what would be the benefit of the Holy Ghost or the blood of sprinkling upon a soul not radically changed, so as to be adapted to it? No more than life around a corpse. These Divine gifts are as void, unless something be done *in* this babe, as they are when at work upon the most hardened sinner. And on the other hand, if the removal of the curse means anything, it means not merely lifting a load from us which crushed us, but giving elasticity and vitality to those crushed faculties, so that they can spring back to their lost form and force, and can grow, under the stimulus of the Divine presence, in the Divine likeness. It means conferring upon the babe precisely what is understood to be conferred upon an adult in answer to prayer and faith. It is, in substance, regeneration. It is this or nothing, and as the theory of mere justification denies this, it advocates practically nothing.

3. Finally, we object to this because it opens the door for great errors. If God saves an infant because Christ died for it, and thus removed original condemnation, and yet does not impart any of the effects of that death to his nature, then he saves him without his being born again, and so violates his declaration when he says, "Except a man be born again he cannot see the kingdom of God." Then he is saved on just the same ground as Universalism saves all—justification through the death of Christ, without regeneration. Then we cannot see the impartiality of God in taking these wicked beings, still in their depravity, to heaven, and not taking others whose natures, by his gift of life continued, have only borne legitimate fruit. This doctrine breeds these vital errors, and cannot stand the batteries of orthodox or heterodox logic. Only on the doctrine of regeneration do we escape from the quicksands to the rock. Only there do we have a consistent origin for a consistent faith. If it be said the Scriptures preach otherwise, saying, "Behold, I was shapen

in iniquity," we answer this is not against us. As far as human generation is concerned this is too true; but there is a Christian generation, spiritual and divine, congenital with the carnal and human, inwrought in that soul at its very origin, by virtue of which we have a counter life of holy impulses, and can grow after the model of the immaculate Son of God. This life is the foundation of our probation, the gift of God to every man through Christ, and the sole ground, in our infancy, of our acceptance with God and assurance of heaven. As Mercein well says:

"This double heritage of sin and grace is the only key to the mystery of God's dealing with childhood. The theology which excludes either of these truths, is soon felt to be mere speculation and dogmatism. There are those who would fain see in the common history of childhood no fallen nature, but only in symmetrical development amid adverse influences and examples; but they are mournfully rebuked by too many evidences of a spontaneous radical evil that cannot be explained as an 'excess of good.' And on the other hand, those whose faith in revelation, and whose observation leave no room to doubt the fatal heritage of sin, cannot hold fast the creed that damns the poor unconscious babe, sinful though its nature may be."

It may be said that regeneration requires a *previous* generation. If so this previous generation must be sinful, and makes us all children of the devil. His are the souls of men. This cannot be. It is blasphemy almost to conceive such a thought. We must assert their consentaneous movement originally in the soul at its birth. And the divine and holy one is termed *regeneration*, because that the sinful is the natural, and the holy is the supernatural, supervened upon it, and therefore, though in point of time contemporaneous, in point of relation subsequent. This, with the fact that it is reconferred in a multitude of cases in mature life on their penitential petition, very properly gives it the name of regeneration.

Hence we see that it may be, it must be possible for God, *it is his duty*, through the atonement of Christ, so to impart of the regenerating grace that flows from justification to the new-born soul, that it may grow in the likeness of its God and Saviour, and never knowing the hour when he was engrafted into him, may always be conscious of the life of God in his soul. Such was the case with the Josephs, the Samuels, and the Timothys of old; such the blessed experience of myriads in the later Church. This theory adjusts the infant state to the whole plan of salvation, and sets this display of Divine love and wisdom as one of the brightest of the Urim and Thummim, the lights and the perfections on that breast of our great High Priest, upon which the babe had often been pressed below, and always is above.

We cannot but refer, in closing this argument, to Mr. Mercein's

admirable statement of this view in his little tract. Never have more important truths been set forth in more forcible and felicitous forms. He says:

"From the moment that the law was broken the atonement became operative in Adam and his race. The Lamb was slain from the foundation of the world, and the descending lightnings of wrath were attracted by the ascending smoke of the great sacrifice, and the full vengeance fell not on Eden but Calvary."

As a consequence of this was the prolongation of the life of those transgressors and the creation of a race.

"It was only by the interposition of a mediatorial grace that the guilty pair were not crushed at once, but simply driven away from the tree of life. Yet only by this extension of earthly life did it become possible to gather a family and initiate a race, so that we may boldly say that *it is only through the atonement that there has ever been a childhood.*"

From this position he advances by a very clear course of reasoning to the following conclusions as to the relation of the infant to the law of the atonement:

"1. The law, the expression of God's holiness, condemns the sinful nature; but the atonement, receiving upon itself that expression of abhorrence, absolves and justifies.

"2. The law assigns as one of the penalties of evil is self-perpetuation, its inability to every virtue, and its insensibility to, and forfeiture of, spiritual influences. The atonement withdraws this penalty and gives, in germ at least, and in a new birth, the elements of purity with a capability of growth, under influences adapted to our spiritual constitution. In other words, *the atonement regenerates.* These are precisely the benefits conferred in adult conversion, conferred as often as a wandering guilty soul comes back in humble penitent faith to the Lamb of God.

'He breaks the power of canceled sin.'

Much more is this double benediction breathed upon each little one that wakes to being beneath the shadow of the cross."

These statements may seem startling, but it is not from their extravagance, but our timidity. Every step in truth startles those who simply receive and defend what others have discovered. The late great achievement of uniting Europe and America by a second of time, was only the natural result of events connected with that science and art. The mystery was solved, the difficulty overcome, when it was found that lightning could be made to talk. So these statements are the natural, the inevitable, the unanswerable sequences of our doctrine of gracious ability and universal atonement. Wesley, under God, gave us these, and we have defended and propagated them. It remained for this son of his to carry these truths to their legitimate result, as applying to the

infant soul, and we hazard little in saying, that this brief and unfinished treatise will put the name of its author beside those of Arminius and Athanasius, as one who has given an absolutely new idea to the Church, "new and old at its birth, like La Verrier's planet," and cleared up, by this single step of advancement, a crowd of difficulties that had pressed upon it, and thus contributed in no small measure to its final union in clearest thought and warmest devotion.

Another mode of discerning this right of the infant to baptism, because he is a member by birth of the invisible Church, more impressive to most minds than the one we have been pursuing, merits our attention. It is put in the form of a question, and as such smilingly but utterly confounds all adherents of Calvinism or Rationalism. It is, What becomes of those who die in infancy? This question, more than any other, is disintegrating the theology of partialism. The attempt to answer it agreeably at once to the universal instinct and the stern theology of Geneva, instantly shows the fearful and unendurable strain to which that creed is subjected. It cannot answer and live. It is as fatal to it as Christ's question concerning John's baptism was to the Calvinists of his time; for as that was the seal of faith in an immediately coming Messiah, whom this Jesus must be if any one was then living, they saw that if they acknowledged the heavenly origin of that, they must of him; and shrinking from this, they dared not gratify their pride and malice by uttering a willful lie, on account of the populace, who had but one opinion about John, however divided they might be on Christ. So they maintained a most expressive silence between the fires of divine logic and popular opinion. Our modern fatalists should imitate them if they would maintain the scheme intact. The pressure of popular sentiment has compelled them to declare the salvation of all who die in infancy, and this concession will, in spite of all their efforts, undermine their ancient and famous fortress of mingled truth and error. For the corner-stone of their creed is, that God foreordains, from all eternity, a certain portion of mankind to eternal life; that the decree is based on his sovereign good pleasure, and not on any action which they can perform, good or bad, nor on a period of probation, (for probation is not possible with those who are under eternal approbation, or its opposite,) nor even in any length of life, the babe dying at the moment of its birth, and the man of five score years, being alike separated from any free or personal co-operation in this infinite work.

Says Dr. Parsons Cook, (*Puritan Recorder*, April 29, 1858 *et al.*,) "We regard the subject of the new birth as being as really passive as in the natural birth," and thence seeks to shun the necessary

consequent of his faith, infant damnation, by asserting the ease with which God can save all who die in infancy. But it is not easy for God to do a wicked thing, and nothing could be more so than to act as this divine asserts that he does; for if he can thus save some infants, the question comes home with irresistible force, Why not save all then and there? Why let the most of them pass that elysian gate to enter the paths of eternal destruction? If it be said some must be the instruments through which they shall be created and saved, the race cannot live without parents, we answer, many who grow up never are parents, and yet are not saved; and if they are, is not the unfairness of such a sovereign disposer yet more manifest in letting the father and mother become devils by his neglect, in order that he may, through them, increase the number of his elect angels? Thus does this vaunted system of logic and truth destroy not only the probation and responsibility of man, but the wisdom, truth, and love of God.

But moderated Calvinism cannot run her keel, smooth and swift as she is, over these rocks that she will not take out of her channel. It will never witch the world with noble horsemanship so long as it attempts to ride at once two such beasts as rationalism and fatalism. These are their foci: Man is not a sinner till he sins, and therefore all who die before are of necessity saved. Here is their rationalism. Again: Man must inevitably sin when he begins conscious life, and hence cannot be esteemed holy in his previous unconscious condition, and therefore, if dying then, must have regeneration in "a large and unusual sense"* conferred upon him. No orbit can be projected from these points. They are the foci of asymptotes and not of a united and useful ellipse. By the first they must save the infant independent of Christ; and their misfortune is that this position arises more directly from their philosophy than the latter one, which is the refuge of their faith unattended by their reason. Thus they separate this portion of the saved from all their kindred. They owe nothing to Christ. No infant voices sing the song of the Lamb. Their white robes were never stained and hence never washed. The babe is taken from its mother's arms, though both fled together to the heavenly mansion. Thus they build up walls great and high, and fix gulfs which cannot be crossed, even in heaven, between members of the same race, of the same household, of the same body of Christ. Gored through all their Christian experience by this rationalistic horn, they leap upon the old fatalistic one that they utterly abhor and yet cannot tear out, and find themselves compelled to acknowledge their Princeton brethren to be

* *Congregationalist*, April, 1858.

right, with all the *horribilia decreta* that underlie, surround, and crown their system; for it has Christ and him crucified as its center and life, and is therefore, with all its deformities, as much above that humanitarian philosophy of religion, (falsely so called,) as the gnarled and stunted oak is superior, by the one but unspeakable addition of life, to all the gorgeous glitterings of the lifeless iceberg. To save themselves from being ejected from the evangelical fold, they must erase from their flag that natural ability and moral inability which they flaunt before their brethren of other orders as the newly wrought and only banner that can lead the Church to its millennial throne, and wave it a blank, discolored sheet at the head of their solitary column. Under their dissonant creed infant salvation through Christ is an impossibility. Striving to sit on the stools of Puritanism and Unitarianism, a child's hand is put forth, and "New England theology," the boasted union of Calvinism and reason, tumbles to the ground.

As this is the only attempt that Calvinism has ever made to adjust itself to common sense and modern philosophy, and as its failure, when subject to this test, is so clear and even ludicrous, we may confidently affirm that this system of faith cannot tell us if and how infant souls die in the Lord. They must yet pave hell with tender skulls of the fore-doomed infants. The pressure of a cruel faith that has in it a little of the breath of divine life, through its connection with the Saviour, is too strong for the merely natural sentiments. It plows through these waves of native feeling that rush against it with mountainous form and force, as easily and irresistably as the leviathan cuts the "still vexed Bermoothes." Thus the babe in his cradle, the immortal Hercules, living or dying, easily strangles all those serpentine theories of grace that originate in fatality not freedom, partial and not universal love. For none of these doctrinal schemes can answer, under the imperative demand of both the Gospel and human nature, the question, How can you save those dying in infancy through the atonement of Christ? The universal heart demands the salvation of all who die at that period of life. A striking proof was seen lately in the celebration with firing of cannon, and flying of flags, of the victory of a candidate over his council at Woburn, Massachusetts, the council having first refused to settle him because he believed in this doctrine, and afterward were compelled by public opinion to reluctantly relent. Christianity demands that they shall be saved precisely as their brethren are, by Him who took on himself the nature of an infant, that He might include them in the great redemption. A true philanthropical theology demands that they be saved on conditions

which include every infant, whether he lives or dies, otherwise death would be an illicit gain to the one who obtained it.

Our philosophy of redemption admirably answers these ends. Christ died for the race. By virtue of that death the curse entailed on it by Adam was removed from each soul, until the soul voluntarily adopted it as its own; consequently, those who leave this world before they commit any actual sin, are received into the heaven of redeemed souls by and through the atoning Saviour. If they remain here, the Holy Spirit is continually and freely poured upon them, so that they are under no necessity of sinning, but may grow up under its constant influence, new born when first born, new creatures in Christ Jesus when first created. Though the fullness of this truth and light does not fall upon those that are born in heathen lands or of ungodly parents, still, with the children of most pious parentage, they are redeemed and cleansed by the blood of Christ, and when they enter into voluntary sin, are judged according to the light they have, which is sufficient to save them if properly used. "For when the Gentiles which have not the law, do by nature the things contained in the law, these having not the law are a law unto themselves; which show the work of the law written in their hearts, while their inward thoughts, answering the one to the other, either justify or else condemn them, as will be seen in that day when God shall judge the secrets of men by Jesus Christ according to my Gospel."* While thus every adult shall receive according to that he hath done, from the hand of infinite love and justice, the soul that escapes the pollutions that are in the world by death, shall, through the power of Jesus, Saviour and Judge, receive eternal life, as the gift purchased for him by His incarnation and death, freely offered and freely received. For as in Adam all have spiritually died, even so in Christ have all been spiritually made alive, and they who leave the world before they slay themselves again by voluntary co-operation with the tempter, shall live forever in the heavens.

This view removes the whole cloud of horrors that from the heights of other creeds overhangs the fate of children. It is equally removed from that blasphemous self-confidence and self-righteousness that ignores the whole work of the atonement, denies Christ the headship of the race, and attempts to send its babes to heaven without putting them in his arms. He takes them though their parents refuse to give them to him. He accepts *theirs* though they reject *him*.

Hence arises the doctrine of infant baptism. This ordinance is the passport to the visible Church for those who have previously

* Conybeare and Howson in loc.

entered the invisible. Every babe has an inward state that fits it for heaven. This must then place him in the invisible Church. He therefore has a *right* to be a member of the visible Church. The greater includes the less. The heir of the throne is the first citizen of the state. These children of God are heirs of his eternal kingdom, and ought to be in its shadowy and temporary representative, the Church on earth. We have the keys of the visible Church. Its Author and Master presents these candidates fitted by himself, and demands that we allow them to enter. The only way of entrance is by the administration of the ordinance of baptism. "Can any man forbid water that these should not be baptized which have received the Holy Ghost as well as we." "Take heed how ye" refuse his request or "despise one of these little ones. It were better for that man that a millstone were hanged about his neck and he cast into the sea than that he should offend one of these little ones."

Thus it stands in the light of a true and blessed theology. It is hampered by no such absurdities as baptismal regeneration; for the candidates are in a regenerated state before and independent of the application of water. It is no humane graft on an inhuman system, the conscience compelling the confession of this truth, though it be like a piece of new cloth in an old garment, making the rent worse, and ultimately requiring the reluctant patcher to make all his garment of the new material. It does not make us (as the Baptist faith requires) leave our little ones as a prey to the destroyer. The massacre of the innocents would then be ceaseless, and the Rachels always weeping comfortless tears for their living babes. The Spanish saying would then be too true, that the first cry of the child is because the devil clutches him; clutches and keeps, according to these theologies, save in the few cases where they are snatched from his grasp by Him whom they esteem greater than antichrist, by uncreated Omnipotence, yet weaker in his manifestation of himself in the work of redemption. But ye have not so learned Christ if so be that ye have found him, and have been taught the truth as it is in Jesus. Infant baptism is the water of sealing applied to those whose inherited stains His blood had washed away. It is the opening of the door of the Church by the hand Divine, to place within its protective walls the souls new created in him. It makes her the nursing mother of his babes, which he travailed with alone in the greatness of his strength. It possesses, as his gift, a philosophy, faith, and practice that develop, in a natural and harmonious manner, the truth as it is in him, as it is through him, in the human soul, from its feeble beginnings in the helpless babe to its unmeasured growth in the unmeasured ages.

Two important corollaries, one referring to the Church, the other to parents, demand consideration.

First. If this argument be true the Church must extend two favors to their baptized children, which they have thus far steadily refused. One is a recognition of their Church membership, and the other admission to the Lord's supper.

As the Calvinistic Baptist has the advantage of his Calvinistic Pædobaptist in the argument, so he has of all his opponents in their practice. None but avowed believers are usually considered as Church members or admitted to the sacrament. Between these Predestinarian sections there is not a shadow of difference as to the necessity of regeneration and baptism before Church membership, and that the first, which is a pre-requisite of the second, cannot happen till after infancy; hence they both say the last cannot be conferred upon an infant, but he must have a quasi-membership, if any —be "a child of the Church." But if the first and last of these are above that age and class, how can baptism, the intermediate on which both depend, be capable of application to them? It cannot, and the Baptist again wins the day. They go together in the order laid down. If we grant the baptism because of regeneration, we must the membership because of baptism. If we shrink from this, if we dare not call our babes Christians and Church members, let us abandon infant baptism, calling it christening, or what you will, but not the Divine ordinance and sole passport to the Church on earth. We must recognize him as a member; he must be taught that he is one, that after due season, and on the expression of proper feelings on his part, he may assume his vows for himself, and enjoy all the privileges of the Church; but before that hour his connection is as close, his liberty as large as a child in a family before his maturity. If he sins he sins as a Church member. If he persist in his sin he is to be treated as a backslider. Thus alone shall we be consistent with ourselves and the truth.

The second necessity is to admit our children, as soon as they can go to Church, to the great privilege and duty of Church members —the Lord's supper. This may seem to some the very extreme of folly and profanity. How will this service be desecrated by such an admission! Better fall back on the very doctrine that excludes infants from heaven than to admit one that drags us to such irreverent conclusions. But we ask, where is the ground for the especial sanctity which is thrown around this ordinance, a sanctity so sacred that those in the congregation who are nearest the heart and the likeness of the Redeemer are to be excluded from its delights? The hospitality which that supper was intended to commemorate and

symbolize is turned into crabbed discourtesy by these close-hearted servitors of the Master of the feast. What objection can arise to the participation of children in its duties and influences? Is it because they cannot understand its meaning? They are taught to pray long before they are sensible of its nature or benefits. Is that greatest of human privileges, speaking to God, turned into a blasphemous pantomime by the broken prattle of a child's prayer? But if this is obligatory on every parental conscience, why shall not the Eucharist, the other mode of approach unto God, be granted them? They will understand it much earlier and easier than they can prayer. The child knows the meaning of food before he does of conversation; and no way of impressing the great central truth of the Gospel on his sensitive nature can compare with this one appointed by Christ. It seems as if he had this object especially in view, so potent would its influence be. The little ones would have every sense brought in contact with the great truth, and as knowledge thus first enters the soul, they would, from this frequent and solemn duty, have the Lamb of God in his sufferings and death as vividly active in their hearts as they now have their daily meals.

It cannot be refused them from their unfitness, for many others, less worthy, go in their adult depravities, having the wedding garment upon a soul, alive, indeed, but not all glorious within, while those babes in Christ have upon them the perfect robe of Christ's righteousness. The one that is nearest a little child is the most heartily welcomed and rewarded by the Lord of the feast, and the child himself will be taken up in his arms there, and blessed as it nowhere else can be. How pleasant the spectacle of parents and children gathering as one family about this great family table of the Father of mercies and God of all comforts! The pictures of a family prayer and family baptism would then have a fitting consummation in the family communion. The very sight of it would remove every objection. As the posture of kneeling in prayer needs no argument save the convictions the beholding eye gives the heart, so the propriety and beauty of this act would convince every beholder.

These two privileges are absolutely essential to the Church relation and the Church life. Without them baptism is impotent and in a measure harmful; with them it is *un fait accompli*, a finished and perfect work. Without them, the advocates of believer's baptism can pick flaws in our practice that our argument can never close up. With them it stands forth clear as the sun and fair as the moon, lovely and of good report.

Let baptism then have its perfect work. Do not admit the new-born Christian to the font but shut him off from the class, the covenant, and the supper, until he comes back to his Father's house, from which his elder brethren have driven him, and, too often, with jealousies and surmises contribute to the festival of his return. Keep not this seed-wheat in the wilderness, refusing to plant it in the garden of the Lord, until it has grown up among universal rocks and tares. It is not the best way to keep weeds out of that garden by letting nothing grow from the seed, but all from translated exotics. The tares will be bedded in those roots, will be in the sap of those trees to spring up and defile many after their transplanting. Let us the rather carefully raise the godly seed in the sacred inclosure of the Church; and then shall the glories of her future shine upon our eyes when, not by tributary streams like the Sabbath school, but through the central channel, shall flow in upon her a never-failing stream of holy youth, greatly enriching this paradise of God.

As the Church is yet restrained by an imperfect theology from its full duty, so many Christian parents deprive their children of this privilege under convictions originating in like error. Two reasons prompt them to deny their babes this symbol of and passport to the sacramental grace, the first arising from convictions of the invalidity of the ordinance, the last from an unwillingness to impose a yoke on the child which shall afterward burden his conscience. The first we have already examined; let us consider the latter. They dislike to impose a burden on their children, and that this is one proved by the dissatisfaction of many with it when they enter the Church on profession of their faith. The general objection is easily disposed of. In multitudes of cases the parent imposes burdens on the child without his consent, often irksome, painful, and irremediable, and sometimes deadly, which it is sinful for them to murmur at, and from which they cannot escape but by the door of death, made lustrous to their sad eyes by these parental impositions. Do they object to imposing their blood and lineage on an immortal soul? Do they shrink from compelling him to carry their name, or speak their language, or abide in their social condition, be these what they may? Besides these burdens, which substantially make up the whole life of the child, they receive others from their hands for which they are responsible, and which may be equally intolerable. They bear a name at which they may be justly aggrieved and ashamed, an incurable deformity laid upon them by the poor taste of their parents. Is this not interfering with their rights and privileges?

But it may be said this is mere trifling. These are the necessary

incidents of our origination from paternity, and are overbalanced by the blessings flowing from that relation. If children are hampered in these things over which we have little or no control, let them have freedom in their spiritual life. Do they have freedom there? Whence come those doctrinal views so closely resembling their parents'? How happens it that even in this land, with all our freedom of action, the son so seldom deserts the faith of his fathers? As his social and civil notions are growths from seeds of parental planting, so his religious sentiments draw their life blood from his convictions. If it be said these are the inevitable consequences of an intimacy for which the elders are not responsible, but they differ from a Christian duty, we answer, not materially, for these all involve and end in duty. Yet take an imposition which is a Christian duty exclusively, and which every Christian parent lays upon his child—prayer, for before he can well pronounce the name of God and has no glimmering of his nature, he is taught to address him. He is taught the parent's theology in his prayers, in its most vital forms. He is carried to his Church, placed in his Sabbath school, taught his catechism, made to expound the Bible as he understands it, placed under every possible religious burden but this, and without a thought in the parent that he is cramping the freedom of a soul. Why should not infant baptism precede these prayers and studies, giving them a fruitfulness, like good seed in good ground, they can never otherwise attain. It is the grand central duty of them all. It will make each of them vastly more efficacious than they can be in their present disorganized activity. His doctrinal views will be confirmed if he examines them as a Church member. His prayers will have a directness and force if he prays in the temple of the visible Church. Therefore, as in his blood, race, language, and name, social and civil condition, food and raiment, studies and trades, political and religious opinions, Sabbath instructions and daily prayers, in every other case, voluntary or otherwise, the child is under conditions in which he must live, and move, and have his being, it cannot make the fetters much heavier, or the victim much more indignant than he now is or ought to be, according to this reasoning, if the great Divine duty crowned and consecrated them all.

Finally, it may be said, This is solitary and alone among duties; it is the solemn sealing of the soul unto its God and Saviour. I cannot take this responsibility on myself, especially when I see how dissatisfied some are with their baptism. If you would rebaptize them I would give them the benefits of this consecration.

Not one in a thousand of other denominations murmur at having received this rite in infancy. Our children are exposed to peculiar

temptations. Many of our converts are from the unbaptized world, and their necessary baptism sometimes troubles the Christian child who takes his vows upon himself at the same time. But this would occasion no trouble did not many of these, under external pressure, prefer immersion; and this striking form, having the appearance of greater sanctity and self-denial, troubles their tender conscience, especially as their connection with their baptism has never been kept up by the Church, and of course equally neglected in the parental culture. Let them be instructed from their childhood in the duties, and made partakers of the privileges of the Church, and these murmurs will never rise in the heart of the baptized child, but rejoicings rather that he has never gone away, like these, into a far country, but always abode in his Father's house.

If we are still asked to rebaptize, we should refuse; for we make a mockery of the ordinance in reapplying it when we believe it is invalid. We take the name of God in vain over these candidates under the most solemn circumstances. If we are sincere in the act we unbaptize the rest of our Church, and perhaps disturb the peace of thousands while seeking to satisfy the crookedness of an individual conscience, whose difficulty is not usually with infant or believer's baptism, but with immersion, and who is, in fact, an exclusive believer in this mode, and ought, if he cannot be cured, to go with those whose practice honestly conforms to that opinion.

We have endeavored to show that this ordinance is appointed of God; that it is based on the right of every infant as embraced in the covenant of grace, not merely in that with Abraham, but in the larger one made with Adam, made in Christ; that it is impossible, from any basis of human or Divine honor and love, for God to send those who die in infancy to perdition, and yet it is impossible, on the same basis, for them to be saved except by the atonement of Christ, which must not include them as special subjects, but under a general law, whereby all yet in their infancy are subjects of saving grace, their inherited evil taken away, and they, though weak and erring, still without condemnation till they have fallen consciously and wilfully into sin. From this comes the inevitable conclusion that every child being made by Christ a member of his invisible Church, has a right, as a human being, to enter the human or visible Church. This right, while it inheres in all children, is properly conferred, except in extraordinary cases, only on those of believers, because they alone can experimentally bring them up in the obligations it imposes, while there is no such regenerative grace in it, or election through the covenant with the parents, as makes the baptized child, if he dies, the more sure of salvation than multitudes who, by

the same excellent fortune, fly in infant innocence from the bosom of unconverted parents in heathen or Christian lands to the bosom of their Saviour in heaven.

The commands of Christ so far from abolishing, establish this law.* That it was the custom of the apostolic Church, is proved from the speech and the silence of the Scriptures; its frequent reference to the baptism of houses or families, a word never found in the Baptist vocabulary of revivals;† its silence before the prejudices of Jew, and Greek, and Roman, and to whomsoever the word of this salvation was then sent, a silence that is unac-

* There are two commands of Christ that are the two watchwords of the most hostile sects, the regenerationist and the immersionist; the one, "He that believes and is baptized shall be saved;" the other, "Except a man be born of water, and of the Holy Ghost he cannot see the kingdom of God." These can be set over against each other, and it is not unlikely, were so uttered by Christ, that he might destroy both the errors of baptismal regeneration and exclusive believer's baptism. If the Baptist says baptism follows faith always, because Christ said so, the baptismal regenerationist asks, Why did he not put it before faith or its substance, in his conversation with Nicodemus? If he, on the other hand, says baptism precedes and occasions regeneration, because Christ said so, the answer is, he puts it after that in his last command. So the balance is kept, and both infant and believer's baptism are both preserved to the Church.

† Of what members did these *oikos* or families consist? We have to draw on our judgment for the answer. This is probably affected by our faith and previous thought. To break through these as far as possible, let us suppose these statements were made in a journal of to-day, with whose views we had no acquaintance. Supposing that the Revival Tribune of last winter, about the length of the Acts of the Apostles, should have said, among other items, that in New York, "a Mrs. Lydia, whose heart the Lord had opened, was baptized and her family;" "that in a remarkable outpouring of grace at Sing Sing, the warden was convicted and converted the same night, and before morning, 'he and all his' were baptized." In Boston the mayor "believed on the Lord, with all his family, and were baptized." Supposing that a great preacher, whose views were not known, should send a letter to the Church that he had been instrumental in upbuilding, in which he should say, "I baptized the family of Stephanus;" and again, "Salute the Church in Priscilla's family, and they who are of Herodian's and Narcissus's families," could any one, however rigid their own views might be, fail to believe that the author of this narrative and letter intended to say that children, even the smallest, were baptized? Could any fair criticism, if it should reject some of them, reject them all? Would not a Baptist brother who should read that Tribune say, that those who wrote that narrative and letter were Methodist or Presbyterian preachers? Would a Baptist preacher, could he give such an account of a revival in his Church to his journals? The difference between them and St. Luke and St. Paul is seen in a most striking form in the journals and letters of that great apostle to the Burmans, Dr. Judson. They abound in narratives of baptisms, but not once is the word house or family used in connection with them, so far had he departed from the usage of the first and chief of the apostles to the heathen.

countable if the new religion was to hold the children of its adherents in less vital relations to itself than any one of its contemporaries; the desires of idolators to have the arms of the Church thrown around their babes, so that the whole family may be as a lovely islet in the black and deadly ocean of paganism rolling around them; the inscriptions on the graves of Christian and baptized babes in the catacombs; the statement of every father, from Tertulian and Origen to Augustine, and of every council, from the first attended by the converts of Timothy and Titus, if not of Paul and John, to the last held by an undivided and unapostatized Church. All these give an array of proof of the apostolic usage that it is impossible to gainsay or resist. We have seen that the doctrine of believers' baptism is complied with if the believer be an unconscious infant placed in the same state into which faith introduces the adult, as if he had passed years in sinful unbelief before his conversion. We have shown that their early admission to all their rights as Church members, though they be ignorant of their full meaning, will bless them and the Church, and be agreeable to the will and education of Him who was taken by his parents when a babe into the temple to do for him after the manner of this law.

We trust the Church will regulate her discipline according to her faith, and that her admission of her babes to her classes, her sacraments, and all other perquisites of membership, will lead her members to give their children their rights, and to train them up in the knowledge of their obligations and benefits. Then shall the reverent words of the holy Herbert be our prayer from childhood :

" Since, Lord, to thee
A narrow way and little gate
Is all the passage, on my infancy
Thou didst lay hold and antedate
My faith in me.

" O let me still
Write thee great God, and me a child;
Let me be soft and supple to thy will,
Small to myself, to others mild.
Be hither ill."

Then will the doctrine of infant salvation logically embodied in our creed, discipline, and practice, lead all other sects to believe its truthfulness and accept its necessary consequents of infant regeneration and infant baptism. The wall in all churches that is built up between the child and his Lord's table, will crumble under the same power. The little children shall again come to Jesus, surround his table, and partake of that flesh which is meat indeed, and

that blood which is drink indeed for every helpless human soul. The hearts of the fathers will be turned to the children, and out of the mouths of babes and sucklings will He ordain praise, while they, like Samuel, shall abide in the temple, and like Christ shall grow in wisdom, and stature, and in favor with God and man.

ART. II.—BRAZIL AND THE BRAZILIANS.

Brazil and the Brazilians, Portrayed in Historical and Descriptive Sketches. By Rev. D. P. KIDDER, D.D., and Rev. J. C. FLETCHER. Illustrated by one hundred and fifty engravings. Philadelphia: Childs, Peterson, & Co.; New York: Sheldon & Blakeman.

It was said long ago by the Great Master, "The field is the world." It is an expression worthy of deep thought by his ministry and his Church. If the world be the field for Christian exertion and enterprise; if the world's conversion should be the grand aim of every loyal worker, then the travels of each explorer, the diary of each adventurer, becomes instinct with thrilling interest. To another it may be but a record of marches, of bivouacs, of huts, of botanical or mineralogical observations. To us it is a new revelation of the world, the world we are to aid in renovating. The world is being made known. Much heretofore supposed to be desert is found to be fertile, and abounding in the *materiale* of wealth. There is yet to be a commerce of which the speculator scarcely dreams. There stand upon the shelves before our table, the volumes of Barth and Livingston, who have brought to Europe and America facts which have awakened inquiry, and suggested future national possibilities which may work a mighty change. The Zambesi is destined to be the world's great cotton canal, and from the broad plains which skirt it, shall be gathered the crop which shall tell with economic arguments, unanswerable facts, in the ears of monopolizing American slaveholders. The sprightly pages of the artist-traveler, Atkinson, have made known the deserts of Siberia, in such manner as we never anticipated. These men, with Captain Kane, in his hyperborean explorations, Wells in his adventures in Honduras, and Loftus in Chaldea and Susiana, have been, in the hands of God, surveyors for his Church. They are mapping the field. We begin to learn what remains to be done ere

"One song employs all nations."

Lying in South America, and stretching from 4° 28' north to 32° 45' south, and with a length of two thousand six hundred and thirty, and a breadth of two thousand five hundred and forty miles, is an empire of which we have known but little. We have heard of Brazil as a land of immense trees, tropical fruits, and flowers; a land of semi-civilization, "palm-trees and jaguars, anacondas and alligators, howling monkeys and screaming parrots, diamond-mining, revolutions, and earthquakes;" but, to continue from the preface of the work we propose to notice, "how few seem to be aware that in the distant southern hemisphere is a stable constitutional monarchy, and a growing nation, occupying a territory of greater area than that of the United States, and that the descendants of the Portuguese hold the same relative position in South America as the descendants of the English in the northern half of the New World! How few Protestants are cognizant of the fact, that in the territory of Brazil the reformed religion was first proclaimed on the western continent?" Thanks to our authors, this ignorance is in part removed.

As to the book before us, its joint authorship is thus explained. Dr. Kidder spent some time in the mission work in Brazil, and after his return to the United States published a volume of "Sketches," embodying the result of his careful observations. This volume was favorably received, but has been several years out of print; but by his consent its substance is reproduced in the volume before us.

The junior author, Rev. J. C. Fletcher, is of a family celebrated for combining the intensely practical with a love of the beautiful. His early training increased his born love of travel, and he has wandered almost around the globe. In a special manner his attention was drawn to Brazil, and providentially his way was opened to visit and explore it. He has looked at it as an artist, a political economist, a statistician, and as a Christian and a Christian minister. It has been his province to weave into these pages his own and Dr. Kidder's observations.

Of different denominations, the first an Arminian, the second a Calvinist, the work cannot be accused of sectarian misstatements, but comes commended by a broad catholicity to all its readers. We speak advisedly when we say we consider this book one of the most valuable accessions to modern literature.

"Its authors have consulted every important work in French, German, English, and Portuguese, that could throw light on the history of Brazil, and likewise various published memoirs and discourses read before the flourishing 'Geographical and Historical Society' at Rio de Janeiro. For statistics they have either personally examined the imperial and provincial archives, or have quoted directly from the Brazilian state papers."—Pp. 4, 5.

The publishers have performed their work in superior style. The engravings are very fine, especially the colored ones. Accompanying the volume is a well executed map, prepared by J. H. Colton & Co., which has the advantage of the corrections made by Mr. Fletcher, from personal observation, in 1855, during the summer of which year he traveled more than three thousand miles in Brazil.

It was on the 26th of January, A. D. 1500, that Vincent Yanez Pinzon, one of the companions of Columbus, and the first Spaniard who crossed the equator, discovered the continent of South America. A mysterious providence gave into the hands of Popery the fairest portion of America, and at a later day opened the bleak and unpromising north to Protestantism, and the result is now history. On the 21st of April of the same year, Pedro Alvarez Cabral, commander of the second Portuguese fleet that ever doubled Good Hope, discovered that portion of the Brazilian coast now known as Espirito Santo.

Passing over much of the early history, we come to 1530, when the unexplored territory of Brazil was divided into captaincies by the King of Portugal and the government of that most unprogressive power seemed firmly established in the New World, and over one of its fairest portions.

Twenty-five years later, a colony of French Protestants, under Villegagnon, sailed up the beautiful bay of Rio de Janeiro, and built a fort, which still bears his name, upon a small island in the harbor. God had cast the lot of Protestantism elsewhere. It was to grapple with difficulty, to be nursed amid tempests, and to show a wondering world how a free Bible, a free pulpit, and a free school, could transform a desert into an Eden. We have not space to write the history. In 1572 the government of "the colony of Brazil" was divided between two captains-general, one having his head-quarters at San Salvador, the other at Rio de Janeiro. From this circumstance came the name *Brazils*, somewhat current among the English, but not tolerated by the Brazilians themselves. These captaincies were, of course, rivals, but their separation was of short continuance, as they were united again in 1576, and placed under one captain general.

In 1580 both Portugal and Brazil came under the dominion of Spain. For eighty-one years Brazil had a checkered history. English, French, and Dutch, sailed into her bays and invaded her coasts. Lancaster and his band of London marauders captured Pernambuco in 1593. In 1594 the French established a colony at Maranhão, which they held twenty-one years. Even grave Hollanders were seized with the spirit of conquest, and in 1624

invaded Bahia, and six years later made a second invasion, in which they took possession of the whole coast from the Rio de San Francisco to Maranham, and made their seat of government at Pernambuco. It was not written, however, that portly burgomasters should *there* make their permanent New Amsterdam. In 1640 Portugal and her colonies threw off the Spanish yoke, and then came a conflict with the Dutch, who were badly worsted at the battle of the Guararapés, and finally, in 1661, abandoned all claim to Brazil.

We pass over the intervening events and come to 1763, when Rio de Janeiro superseded Bahia as the seat of government, and became the residence of the Portuguese viceroys. Under their sway government was arbitrary and despotic. The hand of power clutched the treasures, but did not wisely develop the resources of the country. And so it remained, but not always. It is difficult for Europe to rule America either North or South. Self-government, or at least *home*-government, is sure to be demanded and obtained. The old forms, the cumbrous usages, the ancient follies of the Old World royalty, suit not the restless blood of young America. Spain, Portugal, France, and England, have been taught this fact more than once, and there are still other lessons to be given. Perhaps the maps of A. D. 1900 may letter large portions of this continent as "British America," and "Russian Possessions;" perhaps *so*, and perhaps *not*.

It was long ago prophesied that Brazil would eclipse the glory of Portugal, but when men said so, near the close of the eighteenth century, they did not foresee the nearness of a revolution, the ultimate effects of which should be the accomplishment of those predictions. A cloud had long been gathering over Europe, the iron hand of Napoleon tore it open, and as to the results hear our authors :

"The French Revolution, and the leading spirit which was raised up by it, involved the slumbering kingdom of Portugal in the troubles of the continent. Napoleon determined that the Court of Lisbon should declare itself against its ancient ally, England, and assent to the continental system adopted by the imperial ruler of France. The prince regent, Dom John VI., promised, but hesitated, delayed, and finally, too late, declared war against England. The vacillation of the prince regent hastened events to a crisis. The English fleet, under Sir Sydney Smith, established a most rigorous blockade at the mouth of the Tagus, and the British ambassador left no other alternative to Dom John VI., than to surrender to England the Portuguese fleet, or to avail himself of the British squadron for the protection and transportation of the royal family to Brazil. The moment was critical; the army of Napoleon had penetrated the mountains of Beira: only an immediate departure would save the monarchy. No resource remained to the prince regent but to choose between a tottering throne in Europe and a vast empire in America. His indecisions were at an end. By a royal decree he announced his intention to retire to Rio de Janeiro until the conclusion of a general peace. The

archives, the treasures, and the most precious effects of the crown, were transferred to the Portuguese and English fleets, and on the 29th of November, 1807, accompanied by his family and a multitude of faithful followers, the prince regent took his departure, amid the combined salvos of cannon of Great Britain and of Portugal. That very day Marshal Junot thundered upon the heights of Lisbon, and the next morning took possession of the city. Early in January, 1808, the news of these surprising events reached Rio de Janeiro, and excited the most lively interest.

"What the Brazilians had dreamed of only as a remote possible event, was now suddenly to be realized. The royal family might be expected to arrive any day, and preparations for their reception occupied the attention of all. The viceroys palace was immediately prepared, and all the public offices in the Palace Square were vacated to accommodate the royal suite. These not being deemed sufficient, the proprietors of private houses in the neighborhood were required to leave their residences and send in their keys to the viceroy. . . .

"The fleet having been scattered in a storm, the principal vessels had put into Bahia, where Dom John VI. gave that *carta regia* which opened the ports of Brazil to the commerce of the world. At length all made a safe entry into the harbor of Rio on the 7th of March, 1808. In the manifestations of joy upon this occasion the houses were deserted, and the hills covered with spectators. Those who could, procured boats, and sailed out to meet the royal squadron. The prince, immediately after landing, proceeded to the cathedral, and publicly offered thanks for his safe arrival."—Pp. 64, 65.

The house of Braganza had found a sanctuary in the New World. No wonder the people were wild with excitement. We will add to the above somewhat lengthy extract enough to show the commercial relations of Brazil at that time, and the policy inaugurated by Dom John:

"Up to the period now under consideration all commerce and intercourse with foreigners had been rigidly prohibited by the narrow policy of Portugal. Vessels of nations allied to the mother country were permitted to come to anchor in the ports of this mammoth colony, but neither passengers or crew were allowed to land except under the superintendence of a guard of soldiers. The policy pursued by China and Japan was scarcely more strict and prohibitory.

"To prevent all possibility of trade, foreign vessels, whether they had put in to repair damages, or to procure provisions and water, were, on their arrival, invested with a custom-house guard, and the time for their remaining was fixed by the authorities according to the supposed necessities of the case. As a consequence of these oppressive regulations, a people who were rich in gold and diamonds were unable to procure the essential implements of agriculture and of domestic convenience. A wealthy planter, who could display the most rich and massive plate at a festival, might not be able to furnish each of his guests with a knife at the table. A single tumbler, at the same time, might be under the necessity of making repeated circuits through the company. The printing-press had not made its appearance. Books and learning were equally rare. The people were in every way made to feel their dependence.

"On the arrival of the prince regent the ports were thrown open. A printing-press was introduced and a royal gazette was published. Academies of medicine and the fine arts were established. The royal library, containing sixty thousand volumes of books, was opened for the free use of the public. Foreigners were invited, and embassies from France and England took up their residence at Rio de Janeiro."—Pp. 65, 66.

European manners and customs soon predominated. This was apparent, first in the city, in its streets and residences, and thence extended to the country, which rapidly "put on city airs." Business was changed; commercial houses, having European correspondents, sprang up, and European artists thronged the cities. In December, 1815, the colony was merged in the kingdom, and Brazil was raised to regal name, and declared an integral part of the "United Kingdom of Portugal, Algarves, and Brazil." This was hailed with an enthusiastic outburst. The whole land from the La Plata to the Amazon was garlanded and illuminated. Following this was the death of the queen mother, and a year later the coronation of the prince regent, under the title of Dom John VI.

Nevertheless all went not

"Merrily as a marriage bell."

There had been a jealousy between the Brazilians and the Portuguese, and this was increased by the action of the government. It had twenty thousand or more who had followed it to Brazil, to provide for, and they received the places of profit. The Brazilians had also claims; they had opened house and purse, and would not be forgotten. The government paid them off in *honors*, in stars and decorations. *Cavalheiro* or *Commendador* became the title of nearly all who asked it, and soon the land swarmed with nobles without nobility, and knights without chivalry. But here a new difficulty arose. These men having been ennobled could not return to labor. They must have more than *honor*. With portly Sir John Falstaff, they soon inquired, "Can honor set to a leg? or an arm? or take away the grief of a wound? What is honor? Who hath it?" And like him they added, in act if not in word, "We'll none of it. Honor is a mere scutcheon, and so ends our catechism." They clamored for the substance. Murmurs spread, but there was no free press or free pulpit to echo them.

But the outbreak came. In 1821 occurred the revolution in Portugal in favor of a constitution, and at once there was a similar demand for Brazil. Dom John VI. was no hero. He saw the tempest and determined to fly.

"He conferred upon his son, Dom Pedro, prince royal, the office of Regent and Lieutenant to his Majesty in the Kingdom of Brazil. He then hastened his departure for Portugal, accompanied by the remainder of his family, and the principal nobility who had followed him. The disheartened monarch embarked on a line-of-battle ship, on the 24th of April, 1821, leaving the widest and fairest portion of his dominions to a destiny, not indeed unlooked for by his majesty, but which was fulfilled much sooner than his melancholy forebodings anticipated."—P. 69.

Changes were to crowd rapidly upon each other. Young Dom

Pedro was in the twenty-third year of his age. It is said when the old king bade him farewell, he pressed him to his bosom and said: "Pedro, Brazil will, I fear, ere long, separate herself from Portugal, and if so, place the crown upon thy head, rather than allow it to fall into the hands of any adventurer."

The young regent was at first highly esteemed by the masses, and with this personal popularity, he united decision of character, a trait much needed in his time. An instance of this combination is the fact of his having given the populace, when highly excited, and the king in his palace of San Christovam, only three miles distant, a decree whereby an unreserved acceptance of the constitution of the Portuguese Cortes was guaranteed. His consort shared his popularity. Leopoldina by name, she was an archduchess of Austria, and sister to Maria Louisa, the wife of Napoleon.

He was surrounded with difficulties. The national feuds were deepening, and while perplexed with these, the home powers, fearful of his rising influence, ordered him to Europe, and issued a decree abolishing the royal tribunals at Rio. The people were highly incensed, and pleaded with him to remain. After due reflection he determined to do so. The royal troops made some show of resistance, but cowered before the aroused people, capitulated, and were permitted to sail for Portugal. More and more exacting grew the demands of Portugal, until dispatches reached the prince while journeying, (he had reached the margin of Ypiranga, in sight of San Paulo,) which he read, and indignantly exclaimed, "*Independencia ou morte!*" That expression was thenceforward the Brazilian watchword, and from the day of its utterance, September 7, 1822, dates Brazilian independence.

In October Dom Pedro was declared Constitutional Emperor and Perpetual Defender of Brazil. In December he received a public coronation, and three years later the new emperor was recognized at Lisbon.

But the boiling caldron was not yet to be quieted. The revolution had been complete and almost bloodless. The new emperor sought to give his people a constitution worthy of him and adapted to them, and convened an assembly which ultimately declared itself permanent, but which his majesty speedily dissolved, and called another. Mr. Fletcher thus describes it:

"A special commission of ten individuals was convened on the 26th of November, 1823, for the purpose of forming such a constitution as might meet with the imperial approval. The members of this commission immediately commenced their labors under the personal superintendence of Dom Pedro I., who furnished them the basis of the document he wished to be framed, and gave them forty days for the accomplishment of the object. The ten council-

ors, as a body, were badly qualified for the important task before them; yet several of their number were noted for the excellence of their private characters, and two only for their erudition. One of these two, Cameiro de Campos, was fortunately intrusted with the drawing up of the constitution, and to him, it has been said, Brazil is principally indebted for a number of the most liberal provisions of the code—provisions which he insisted upon introducing in opposition to the wishes of many of his colleagues.

.... "Its most important features may be stated in a few words. The government of the empire is monarchical, hereditary, constitutional, and representative. The religion of the state is the Roman Catholic, but all others are tolerated. Judicial proceedings are public, and there is the right of *habeas corpus* and trial by jury. The legislative power is in the General Assembly, which answers to the Imperial Parliament of England, or to the Congress of the United States. The senators are elected for life, and the representatives for four years. The presidents of the provinces are appointed by the emperor. There is a legislative assembly to each province for local laws, taxation, and government: thus Brazil is a *decentralized* empire. The senators and representatives are chosen through the intervention of electors, as is the president of the United States, and the provincial legislators are elected by universal suffrage. The press is free, and there is no proscription on account of color.

"The constitution thus framed was accepted by the emperor, and on the 25th of March, 1824, was sworn to by his imperial highness, and by the authorities and people throughout the empire.

"The Brazilian Constitution has, to a great extent, secured equality, justice, and consequently national prosperity. She is to-day governed by the same constitution, with which more than thirty years ago she commenced her full career as a nation. While every Spanish-American government has been the scene of bloody revolutions; while the civilized world has looked with horror, wonder, and pity upon the self-constituted bill of the people's rights again and again trampled under foot by turbulent faction and priestly bigotry, or by the tyranny of the most narrow-minded dictators; the only Portuguese-American government (though it has had its provincial revolts of short duration) has beheld but two revolutions, and those were peaceful; one fully in accordance with the constitution, (the abdication of Dom Pedro I. in favor of his son Dom Pedro II., the present emperor,) the other the proclamation of the majority of Dom Pedro II., which was by suspending a single article of the government compact."—Pp. 75, 77.

Passing over many events of interest, we condense the historic *résumé* into a few paragraphs. The Imperial Prince, Dom Pedro II., was born December 2, 1825. On the death of King Dom John VI., the Emperor of Brazil, heir-apparent to the crown of Portugal, abdicated that crown in favor of his eldest daughter, Donna Maria. The same year witnessed the final separation of Monte Video from Brazil, that province becoming the Cisplatine Republic.

There were internal dissensions, which continued until Dom Pedro I., wearied above endurance, abdicated in favor of his son, Dom Pedro II., then hardly six years of age. And now the regency was the prize for which ambitious schemers plotted and worked, until in 1840 the dispute was settled by the declaration of the majority of the young prince, made in the following words by the President of the Assembly: "I, as the organ of the representatives of this nation, in General Assembly convened, declare that his majesty, Dom

Pedro II., is from this moment in his majority, and in the full exercise of his constitutional prerogatives. The majority of his majesty, Dom Pedro II.! Viva Senhor Dom Pedro II., Constitutional Emperor and Perpetual Defender of Brazil!! Viva Senhor Dom Pedro II!!!"

And the vivas rolled up by millions. The revolution which had threatened disaster was at an end. The multitude who would not receive a regent of fifty, shouted over an emperor of fifteen! Ah, well, an elephant may be led by a gay ribbon, which would snap a seven twisted chain.

Dom Pedro II is, no doubt, the most popular of living monarchs, and we may perhaps justly add, deservedly so. His mind was early cultivated with much care, and his later studies have been uniform and persistent. With a reputable scholarship, he unquestionably possessed statemanship of no common order. He has been the steady advocate and patron of arts and sciences, of internal improvement and commerce, and his enlightened and liberal policy has greatly elevated his nation in spite of their superstition and ignorance. At the rate of progress witnessed during the past decade, ere many years Brazil will take her place among the first-class powers of the earth.

Let not this be deemed an unwarrantable statement. Steam power is just beginning to be employed for transportation. In 1852 ground was broken for the first railroad, and the year following saw the first locomotive placed on Mauá Railway, and a line of steamers on the Amazon. The commerce of Brazil, yet in its infancy, is becoming important. It is to be decided whether the trade of Brazil shall be with the United States or with Europe. The sympathies of Brazilians are with us; we are their neighbors; they have articles which we must import; we have articles which they must import; and yet, says Dr. Thomas Rainey, in his paper read before the New York Historical Society:

"It is a most singular fact that the United States, with the largest commercial marine in the world, disputing with the last great contending rival the championship of the seas, and claiming an aggregate civilization equaled by that of no other people on the globe, should lag behind some, even of the most insignificant nations of Europe, in the prosecution of that trade which all the natural advantages of geographical contiguity would proclaim peculiarly her own; that she should not sustain a single steamship line of any class to those vast, important, and growing countries, (alluding to Brazil, West Indies, Spanish Main, etc.,) while to Brazil alone, Great Britain, with a trade but fifty-four per cent. larger than ours, (though far more rapidly increasing,) is now supporting two distinct lines of first-class steamships; France, with fifty-six per cent. less trade, also two first-class lines; Genoa, with a trade not two and a half per cent. of ours, one first-class line; Portugal, with only twenty-five per cent of ours, one first-class line; Hamburg one; Belgium, with a trade of only

ten per cent. of ours with Brazil, has also one first-class line. This record is indeed startling."

We have not room for the statistics with which the volume before us fairly bristles, illustrative of the above remarks, and the importance of early securing this extensive trade; but we will insert some items of the annual trade, exports and imports, with Brazil.

1856. Imports and Exports united: New York, \$7,823,599; New Orleans, \$6,376,697; Baltimore, \$4,271,538; Philadelphia, \$2,861,231; Boston and Salem, \$1,524,361; Richmond exports 110,000 barrels of flour, value not given; imports \$149,345; while Charleston imports \$269,169, and exports \$23,470.

We shall add an extract or two from Appendix H. of the volume before us:

"We see from a generalization and combination of these tables and analyses, that our great advance in the Brazilian trade has arisen from imports instead of from exports, whereas the trade of Great Britain has advanced in both, and particularly in her exports, which already were large, the tendency being to enrich Great Britain and impoverish us: that until 1850 her exports were stationary, while ours were increasing, due, doubtless, to the superiority of our clipper ships at that period, which placed us much nearer than England to Brazil; that she is now taking the coffee trade from us and giving it to her own and other European merchants and shipping; that she is rivaling us in the rubber trade; wholly distancing us in that of manufactures; and that from 1850 to 1855 she has doubled a large trade of profitable exports, and increased her aggregate imports and exports two hundred and twenty-five per cent.; whereas it has taken us thirteen years to double a small trade, composed mostly of imports: it being evident that, with equal facilities, we could outstrip Great Britain in nearly all the elements of this Brazil trade, as we were doing from 1840 to 1850."

The remedy for this is in the establishment by our government of a line of mail steamers. Private enterprise can do much, but it needs this aid from the administration. Our people have clamorously demanded it, and in an able report to the House of Representatives, its feasibility and necessity were demonstrated beyond question. It is to be hoped that a subject of so much importance will soon receive the attention and aid it so richly merits.

We pass from commerce to give a hurried glance at Brazilian institutions.

Institutions!—The word at once suggests the idea of African slavery; for other things may be *incidents*, this has a graver name and character. It is a sad fact that this curse blights the rich land of Brazil. From its fields, bright with many-hued flowers, go up to God the groans of the captive. Slavery is essentially and unchangeably evil. Yet there are facts which greatly mitigate the curse, and render Brazilian slavery less hopeless than the *domestic* institutions of this

"Land of the free and home of the brave!"

1. The Brazilian constitution does not, either directly or indirectly, recognize color as the charter of civil rights; "hence, once free, the black man or mulatto, if he possess industry and talent, can rise to a social position from which his race in North America is debarred." This is, indeed, a difference! There is not, in these United States or territories, a single square foot of ground, from Rio Grande to St. John's River, from Eastport to San Francisco, where a man may claim citizenship or self-ownership by virtue of his manhood. It is color, color alone! If white, if the Circassian tint is the ruling one, though ignorant as the white-haired Celt who has just landed upon our shores, or "taken me first papers, shure," he is intrusted with the functions of citizenship! He may be ignorant, brutish, priest-owned; no matter,

Color makes the man!

But if a darker hue be his—he may be a scholar, he may be brave as Ajax, may be worthy to walk with princes—no matter, that rude Celt may eject him violently from the public conveyances of the street, and our laws and our courts approve it. Social elevation and political rights are and will be denied the African race in this country. In Brazil he may ascend the social and political scale.

"In Brazil everything is in favor of freedom; and such are the facilities for the slave to emancipate himself, and when emancipated, if he possess the proper qualifications, to ascend to higher eminences than those of a mere free black, that *fait* will be written against slavery in this empire before another half century rolls around. Some of the most intelligent men I have met with in Brazil, men educated at Paris and Coimbra, were of African descent, whose parents had been slaves. Thus if a man have freedom, money, and merit, no matter how black may be his skin, no place in society is refused him. It is surprising also to observe the ambition and the advancement of some of these men with negro blood in their veins. The National Library furnishes not only quiet rooms, large tables, and plenty of books to the seekers after knowledge, but pens and paper are supplied to such as desire these aids to their studies. Some of the closest students thus occupied are mulattoes. The largest and most successful printing establishment in Rio, that of Sr. F. Paulo Brito, is owned and directed by a mulatto. In the colleges, the medical, law, and theological schools, there is no distinction of color. It must, however, be admitted that there is a certain, though by no means strong, prejudice existing all over the land in favor of men of pure white descent. . . . I was informed that a man of mental endowments, *even if he had been a slave*, would be debarred from no official station, however high, unless it might be that of imperial senator.—P. 133.

2. There is a possibility of freedom. "By the Brazilian laws a slave can go before a magistrate, *have his price fixed, and purchase himself.*" The price is fixed, not by the owner, but by a magistrate supposed to be disinterested. "We have no such custom."

3. While the condition of Brazilian slaves is bad enough, we know of no law against instructing them. If an amiable "elect

lady" should teach Sambo to read, we have no evidence that she would be imprisoned therefor.

Mr. Fletcher regards slavery as surely doomed in Brazil. In 1850 the slave-trade was suppressed, and since then there has been a heavy immigration. Europe has rolled a countless tide up the beautiful bay, and along the coast. Free labor is everywhere coming into contact with slave labor, and the result is obvious. The question unavoidably suggests itself, whether, the climate and soil of Brazil being adapted to the colored race, may not many of that doomed people, who feel deeply their anomalous condition, find *there the home and the nationality denied them here?*

Since the commencement of the reign of the present emperor, there has been an increase in the facilities for popular education, and the influence of the crown is altogether in its favor. There is a common school system for the realm, and its teachers and officers seek quite eagerly for reports from United States' Boards of Education, as embodying safe principles and practice. This system is becoming popular, and although, perhaps, one half the children are educated in private schools, or those under provincial authority, yet the reports of 1855 show that in the schools of the empire there were sixty-five thousand four hundred and thirteen children. The government has also founded colleges, naval and military academies, and seminaries of law, medicine, and theology. There is also an imperial academy of the fine arts, with professors of painting, architecture, sculpture, and design, which receives annually about seventy pupils, and even provides for the support of a number of its graduates at Rome.

It is also worthy of note that the Brazilian press is free, something unusual in an empire of which Romanism is the tutelar deity. Rio de Janeiro has its four dailies, besides weeklies, tri-weeklies, etc. Any citizen may ventilate his opinions by paying for the privilege, for journalism is made a profitable affair.

It is true there is a vast amount of ignorance in Brazil; but we have reason to be modest in our censures until the damaging disclosures of the United States census are forgotten. It must be remembered, however, that her educational and literary apparatus has been newly created. There is progress. Inquiry is encouraged, books are scattered, papers are multiplying, public libraries are being opened, and there must be an intellectual elevation of the masses.

It is, however, a gloomy look-out when we sweep over the moral and religious condition of this vast empire. When we see its mummery, and take the present condition contrasted with what it might have

been had success smiled upon the colony of French Huguenots, whose songs went up to God, sooner by half a century than Protestant psalmody was heard elsewhere in the New World, but which was destroyed by the base perversion of their leader, Villegagnon, we have another illustration of the unsearchableness of Divine counsels. Why was that colony blotted out, and that embryo empire abandoned to the man of sin?

The blight of Brazil is its ecclesiastical system in the hands of a profligate and ignorant priesthood. These "successors of the apostles" perform the ritual of the Church at all canonical times, but are careful to add no unwritten duty. They shun the hospital, but attend the race-course; they preside in the confessional when not allured to the cock-pit. There is no preaching to the people, but processions and gorgeous pageantry are seen upon every hand. The ecclesiastics live in open licentiousness, and sink to its lowest degree. There are proofs of all these statements given, but we prefer not transferring them to these pages. Such things are the legitimate fruit of a system which so separates between the *man* and the *minister*; between what he *is personally*, and what he *does officially*; allowing him to be vile as Satan, and claiming for him power to create his God, and to absolve from all punishment the victims or companions of his debaucheries. Lest we be deemed guilty of misrepresenting the true condition of Brazilian morals under infallible training, we will give a few specimens of the advertisements which may be read in the newspapers, or found affixed to church doors. The first is of a festival in the Church of Santa Rita:

"This *festa* is to be celebrated with high mass and a sermon, at the expense of the devotees of the said virgin, the Most Holy Mother of Grief, who are all invited by the Board to add to the *splendor* of the occasion by their presence, since they will receive from the above-named lady due reward."—P. 146.

This is modest, however, and decidedly reverent, compared with some others, as per example:

"The Judge and some devout persons of the Church of Lady of our Estrella, erected in the village of the same name, intend to hold a festival there, with a chanted mass, sermon, procession in the afternoon, and a *Te Deum*, all with the greatest pomp possible, on the 23d instant; and at night there will be a beautiful display of fireworks. The managers of the feast have asked the director of the Inhomerim Steamboat Company to put on an extra steamer that will leave the Praia dos Mineiros at eight o'clock in the morning, and return after the fireworks. It is requested that all the devotees will deign to attend this solemn act, to render it of the most brilliant description.

"*Estrella*, Sept. 17, 1855. FRANCISCO PEREIRA RAMOS, Sec."—P. 146.

And yet again:

"The Brotherhood of the Divine Holy Ghost of San Goçalo [a small village across the bay] will hold the feast of the Holy Ghost, on the 31st instant,

with all possible splendor. Devout persons are invited to attend, to give greater pomp to this act of religion. On the first proximo there will be the feast of the most Holy Sacrament, with a procession in the evening, a *Te Deum*, and a sermon. On the 2d, the feast of the patron of San Gonçalo; at three P. M. there will be brilliant horse-racing (!) after which a *Te Deum* and magnificent fireworks."—Pp. 146, 147.

The above seems bold enough, and illustrates the results of Romanism when not held in check by heretical Bibles and preachers. But we must give still another, which illustrates, also, the harmonious workings of the law of supply and demand; the Church creates the *demand*, and thus an honest tradesman advertises the *supply*:

"Notice to the Illustrious Preparers of the Festival of the Holy Spirit.—In the *Rua dos Ourives*, No. 78, may be found a beautiful assortment of Holy Ghosts, in gold, with glories, at eighty cents each; smaller sizes, without glories, at forty cents; silver Holy Ghosts, with glories, at six dollars and a half per hundred; ditto without glories, three dollars and a half; Holy Ghosts of tin, resembling silver, seventy-five cents per hundred."—P. 147.

What must be the result of such teachings? Among the ignorant debasement still more profound, among the more enlightened only skepticism. And just such is the actual result. The padres have lost their power in great measure, and are still losing it.

It is hopeful, however, that the empire, with slight restriction, has allowed liberty of conscience and of worship. "All other denominations have the right to worship God as they choose, whether in public or in private, with the single limitation that the church edifice must not be *no formo do templo*, in the form of a temple," which the supreme judges have defined to be "a building without steeples or bells." Romanism has had a fair chance on that field. She has had no opposition, has had government aid and prestige, has been alone with the people, and yet so palpable has been her failure, so insufficient her priesthood, so powerless for good her teachings, that the people refuse to guarantee her exclusive domination, but throw open the door to all others, and bid them enter, if they bring a better and more ennobling system.

If we may credit the statements of our authors, Brazil opens a promising field for evangelical effort. Dr. Kidder thus speaks of it in 1845:

"It is my firm conviction that there is not a Roman Catholic country on the globe where there prevails a greater degree of toleration, or a greater liberality of feeling toward Protestants. In all my residence and travels in Brazil, in the character of a Protestant missionary, I never received the slightest opposition or indignity from the people. As might have been expected, a few of the priests made all the opposition they could; but the circumstance that these were unable to excite the people, showed how little influence they pos-

essed. On the other hand, perhaps, quite as many of the clergy, and those of the most respectable in the empire, manifested toward us and our work both favor and friendship."—P. 143.

Mr. Fletcher, who spent some time in the empire as an agent of the American Bible Society, and came in immediate contact with all classes and grades of society from Dom Pedro down, gives the above statements his cordial approval. In addition, it may be said that there was a willingness, nay, a *desire* to receive the Holy Scriptures most encouraging to pious effort. It is with reluctance we turn from other marked passages, which demonstrate the readiness and docility with which the people receive the Bible and the message of Protestantism. We fear we have too greatly neglected Brazil. Surely if any fields are white to the harvest there they are. Romanism is powerless for good. The infidelity which once poisoned France is working. The training given by the schools to mind will loosen the hold of the papacy. Those young men now in Brazilian schools are not to be held in leading strings by a Church which offers to sell them tin Holy Ghosts at seventy-five cents per hundred. But where shall they go? "How shall they hear without a preacher?"

It is a question which should be asked by every mission-board at each meeting, "What can be done for Brazil?" Cannot Protestantism go there and grapple with the man of sin, or shall we sit down in full sight of that population of nearly eight millions, who implore bread, and leave them to die of spiritual hunger?

We must forego the pleasure of laying before the reader the interesting account of the exposition of United States art and science, secured by Mr. Fletcher's personal efforts, and which excited so much interest in Rio. We omit it reluctantly, and yet find some compensation in the fact that full accounts have been given through the newspapers of the country. Of this the North American Review says: "The results of this most judicious and praiseworthy enterprise can hardly fail to show themselves in the commercial statistics of the present and succeeding years. Certain it is that attention was emphatically drawn to the superiority of some American manufactures, that a new demand was created, and the knowledge of the mercantile resources enlarged and extended; and it may prove that the missionary of the cross will have been the prime agent in righting the balance of trade between our own and the Brazilian ports." Not unlikely. And it is but indicative of the future. Commerce is yet to follow the cross as its pole-star. The missionary is yet to be recognized as a power among men.

We close this interesting and richly-executed volume. We have

read it with delight, and yet with trembling in view of the duty of our Church to that vast empire. To those who have not read the book, we are sure the extracts with which we have so plentifully sprinkled this paper, will be welcome, and we trust that they will create a desire to read the whole.

ART. III.—BRYANT'S POEMS.

Poems, by WILLIAM CULLEN BRYANT. Collected and arranged by the Author. Illustrated with seventy-one engravings, from drawings by eminent artists. New York: D. Appleton & Co.

THE illustrated book of poems whose title stands at the head of this article contains three hundred and forty-four pages, quarto post size, of superb cream-tinted, highly glazed linen paper, with broad margins; is printed in elegant, clearly cut, sharply defined, antique type, shining in the honors of the glossiest black ink, and is bound in substantial brown Turkey morocco, with no flaunting gilt on the covers, but heavily gilded where gold is valuable, on the edges. The whole outside and external appearance is largely suggestive of taste and genius, and may well prepare the heart of the reader for the poetry within.

William Cullen Bryant is one among the few precocious children that have more than redeemed the promises of an early dawn of genius. He was born in the town of Cummington, Hampshire county, in western Massachusetts, November, 1795. He came from a family in which the profession of physician had for several generations been hereditary. His childhood and youth were therefore spent among cultivated society, where elegance and literature would be appreciated, and where genius would be encouraged. His early rambles were along the eastern slopes of the picturesque and romantic Green Mountain range, and the influences which their gorges and chasms, their streams, and cascades, their valleys and woods, exerted upon the future man, are very visible in almost every one of the poems in this volume.

His earliest attempts at poetry were made at the age of nine, and are as good as those of Pope, Cowley, Tasso, or Chatterton at the same age, or a little later. In 1808, when the poet was not quite thirteen, a book of poems, containing "The Embargo" and "Spanish Revolution," was published by his friends. So wide was

the range of reading, and the extent of knowledge of political affairs and of general history, as well as the maturity of talent and stretch of thought here exhibited, that his friends deemed it necessary, when a second edition was called for in February, 1809, to issue a kind of affidavit, assuring the public that the author's age was a matter of record, and could be verified by examination. "The Embargo" was chiefly a satirical attack upon the policy of the administration of Mr. Jefferson, who had laid an embargo on all foreign bound vessels belonging to the United States, a policy which was thought to be highly detrimental to New England, and which was most fiercely and persistently denounced in all her borders. This poem, written and passed to a second edition before the author was thirteen and a half, is really as good as most of the satirical poems on political subjects published by more ambitious authors. Its sentiments and ideas undoubtedly were learned in the daily discussions at the table of his father, and from the partisan newspapers of the vicinity, more than by his own observation or reflection; and the versification is probably due to the lad's ardent admiration of Pope and Dryden, more than to any great labor of thought, or enthusiastic inspiration of real genius or lofty purpose. It was nevertheless well received, and made the public both anxious to hear more from its young author, and fastidious concerning all that he might thenceforward compose.

In 1810 Bryant entered Williams College, where he remained two years, and then devoted himself to the study of the law in Plymouth county, Massachusetts, where he was admitted to the bar as a practising attorney in 1815. About this time "Thanatopsis," written, it is said, at the age of eighteen, was first published in one of the periodicals of the day. This poem has been a great favorite with everybody since the day it first saw the light. It purports to be the voice of Nature herself to man concerning death, and is full of noble sentiments of the pantheistic school. Its versification is liquid and flowing, and has scarcely a harsh cadence or an imperfect rhythm. It is the voice of Nature seeking to make us content to die, after a life of brave and useful labor. In 1821 "The Ages," the longest poem which Mr. Bryant has yet published, consisting, however, of only thirty-five Spenserian stanzas, was printed at Cambridge, Massachusetts, together with "Thanatopsis," "To a Water-Fowl," "The Yellow Violet," "Green River," "Inscription at the Entrance of a Wood," and a few other pieces. This volume was the proper commencement of his career and fame, and it established his reputation as the first of American poets, a position from which no rival has yet dislodged him, after forty years of

almost continual writing. In the year 1825 he left his native state and removed to the city of New York, where he has since resided, engaged chiefly in the business of editing a political newspaper, and devoted to the promulgation and defense of the principles of what claims to be Jeffersonian democracy. In 1834 and 1835 he traveled extensively in Europe, and in 1843 made the tour of the Mississippi and the Great West. His mind is therefore enriched by ancient and modern classical studies and literature, disciplined by the methodical training and practice of the law, polished and elevated by intercourse with the best of metropolitan society, enlarged and refined by domestic and foreign travel, and strengthened by almost daily exercise in the practice of literary composition. Add to these a genial temper, a habit of quick and correct observation, an ardent sympathy with the varying moods of nature, and a soul alive to all generous instincts and impulses, and we have a character well fitted to become a national favorite as a poet. Of all our American male writers of verse, he has been the most praised, if not the most read and most influential; and his poems are now almost daily found in the poet's corner of our multitudinous newspapers, though they may have been already fifty times printed in the former volumes of the same periodical.

As a poet he therefore needs no introduction to an American or even a European auditory. Years ago his poems, edited and introduced by Irving, were dedicated to Rogers, and cordially reviewed and complimented by Christopher North in *Blackwood*. Their reputation is established. But Bryant is something else than a poet.

The subjects sung in this volume are none other than the topics common to all true poetry, with the almost exception of religion and home, in the highest and most endearing senses of these words. No volume of poems can be at all complete where these topics are wholly neglected, nor can it be at all popular when these subjects, the noblest for human contemplation, and the dearest to the human heart, as well as the sweetest and most consoling, are not often recurred to; and therefore there is found in some one or other of its phases and appearances, on almost every page, natural religion, or that kind of quietism that may grow out of the observation of nature, and prompts to a lazy, indifferent morality and benevolence, together with those feelings and affections that make home agreeable and desirable, such as respect for age and parental authority, chivalric regard for woman and love for childhood, virtues which also grandly dignify and ennoble the character and render a people honorable, and often they are very beautifully and forcibly expressed.

These in some good measure, though not fully, atone for the loss of the direct mention and open recognition of a religion daily felt in the soul, and they redeem the book from the charges of either infidelity or stoicism. Bryant has the power, if he only had the experience, to embalm in words the entrancing raptures that thrill the heart when man's affections all center in God, not as a part of nature, nor as its Creator and Governor, nor yet as the most wonderfully skillful mechanician, or the most bountiful benefactor, but as the One only lovely, supremely just and holy, revealed in the person of Jesus Christ, and felt in the soul as an indwelling power and impulse. His religion (and there is a large amount of it in various poems) is the natural religion which is content to rest in the inactive organism of the plant or flower, not that of Paul, which burns, and glows, and feels its own life, and demands to be reckoned among the working and transforming powers in the earth.

These poems have no Saviour. Almost all their religion might have been known and described (for there is no attempt to dramatize it) by Plato himself. Here is the most observant pantheism, and the most sympathetic accordance with every frown, or smile, or look of nature. And the heaven to which the soul aspires is commonly nothing more than this earth a very little idealized; the heaven of some of Swedenborg's followers, or that of a portion of those who, so proudly and with such arrogant assumption, style themselves spiritualists. This beautifully versified passage is an illustration. It occurs in a poem entitled the "Two Graves," a most lovely painting:

"'Tis said that when life is ended here,
The spirit is borne to a distant sphere;
That it visits its earthly home no more,
Nor looks on the haunts it loved before.

* * * * *

'Tis a cruel creed, believe it not!
Death to the good is a milder lot.
They are here, they are here, that harmless pair,
In the yellow sunshine and flowing air,
In the light cloud-shadows that slowly pass,
In the sounds that rise from the murmuring grass.
They sit where their humble cottage stood,
They walk by the waving edge of the wood,
And list to the long accustomed flow
Of the brook that wets the rocks below,"
Patient, and peaceful, and passionless,
As seasons on seasons swiftly press,
They watch, and wait, and linger around,
Till the day when their bodies shall leave the ground."

Pp. 149, 150.

This may be very touching, and expressive, and really enchanting

"To him who in the love of Nature holds
Communion with her visible forms ;"

but it is not the desire nor the language of a soul "born of God," and adopted to be the brother and servant of the Lord Jesus, whose whole heart is fired with the blessed idea of Christ's mediatorial office, and who cries with the Psalmist, "Whom have I in heaven but THEE? And there is none upon earth that I desire besides THEE." To such a one, longing to dwell in the immediate and visible presence ("the pure in heart shall *see* God") of the Creator, all the works of nature, however manifold, and in whatever excellent wisdom made, are but incentives to reach after a still more appreciable intercourse with him in personal communion; and all of God that he sees in the glorious forms of nature, is nothing more than the shadow of its mother which the child sees thrown by the lamplight on the curtains of its couch, making it long to be folded in the warm arms to the beating bosom of that mother. The real Christian, or if an abstract term is preferred, the true religionist only sees the moving shadow of God in these multifarious and almost miraculous works of nature. All her divine and soul-elevating beauties are less suggestive even than shadows, and can no more satisfy his soul and fill his love, than the faintest echo of the voice of his newly married bride could satisfy the heart and soul of an enraptured bridegroom. The only reference, except in the translations, to Christ, with any distinctness, occurs in "The Conqueror's Grave" in which he is called "The Mighty Sufferer," and the "Great Master." The poem is a grand one, and thus closes in a noble strain of hopeful courage, sublime resolve, and cheering promise:

"O gentle sleeper, from thy grave I go
Consoled though sad, in hope and yet in fear.
Brief is the time I know,
The warfare scarce begun;
Yet all may win the triumphs thou hast won.
Still flows the fount whose waters strengthen'd thee;
The victor's names are yet too few to fill
Heaven's mighty roll; the glorious armory,
That ministered to thee, is open still."—P. 322.

It may be said that Bryant is not a sacred poet, and therefore he is not bound to make any reference to this matter of a personal religion and spiritual communion with God. If this is granted, it follows that instead of striking all the keys in the great organ of the human heart, he has left untouched that which gives forth the most thrilling notes, and produces, in concert with the others, the most

exalting harmonies. But it will not do to make this admission, even while it will not cover or excuse his deficiencies. No man who pretends to be a poet has any more right to ignore "God in Christ Jesus," than he has to ignore God in nature; and if he does thus keep silence upon this dearest of all topics, then the world ought to be put on its guard against worshipping him as the perfect poet. Many will be pained to find here no religion of repentance and faith in Christ, nothing but cold communion with nature and with God through her; and there is no Jesus with his wounded flesh and unspeakable love, who appears and becomes most really appreciable to the longing soul.

On those great subjects that interest all and make men always feel them, life and death, there are some excellent descriptions and some noble moralizings. The "Hymn to Death" is sublime, wonderfully so in parts, and is highly suggestive of patient heroism, brave endurance, and lofty philosophy. Its calm and defiant waiting for a better day, and its certain faith in the steady approach of that good time, are more than heroic. And the pathos of its close, sung apparently upon the harp, with its strings broken by the rude hand that had struck down the father of the poet while he was singing, is irresistible. Yet he might have spared the last line, or at least changed the last two words, which are unworthy both the poet and his theme:

"Shuddering I look
On what is written, yet I blot not out
The desultory numbers; let them stand
The record of an idle reverie."—P. 52.

Few poems of its kind in our English tongue are finer, notwithstanding the grand doctrine of immortality does not sufficiently add its cheering strains to swell the noblest part of the chorus, an omission detracting from its real power and lasting influence. Yet listen to a few lines from it:

"Raise then the hymn to Death. Deliverer!
God hath anointed thee to free the oppressed
And crush the oppressor. When the armed chief,
The conqueror of nations, walks the world,
And it is changed beneath his feet, and all
Its kingdoms melt into one mighty realm,
Thou, while his head is loftiest, and his heart
Blasphemes, imagining his own right hand
Almighty, thou dost set thy sudden grasp
Upon him, and the links of that strong chain
Which bound mankind are crumbled; thou dost break
Scepter and crown, and beat his throne to dust.
Then the earth shouts with gladness, and her tribes
Gather within their ancient bounds again."—P. 48.

"Life" is rather the poetical conception of the philosopher than of the immortal saint. It is full of beauty nevertheless; and while it seems to lack the religious element of faith, it yet has the anxious tone that inquires for it. Somewhat more definite and hopeful is the desire to "know as we are known" which glows in "The Future Life."

"How shall I know thee in the sphere which keeps
The disembodied spirits of the dead,
When all of thee that time could wither sleeps
And perishes among the dust we tread?"

"For I shall feel the sting of ceaseless pain
If there I meet thy gentle presence not;
Nor hear the voice I love, nor read again
In thy serenest eyes the tender thought.

* * * * *

"The love that lived through all the stormy past,
And meekly with my harsher nature bore,
And deeper grew, and tenderer to the last,
Shall it expire with life, and be no more?"

* * * * *

"Yet though thou wear'st the glory of the sky,
Wilt thou not keep the same beloved name,
The same fair thoughtful brow, and gentle eye,
Lovelier in heaven's sweet clime, yet the same

"Shalt thou not teach me, in that calmer home,
The wisdom that I learned so ill in this—
The wisdom which is love—till I become
Thy fit companion in that land of bliss?"—P. 263, 264.

But these are not the subjects on which this poet is most at home. He does not ascend naturally into the dim mysterious regions of the spirit of man, and hear the voice of God's inward inspiration revealing to him the secrets of the soul's eternity, and all the deep meanings of its heart-longings after a higher life when earth has fled, a life not of languid and idle dreamings, but a higher life of doing and ripening by means of vigorous labor, every day and every hour voluntarily undertaken and resolutely gone through. He has looked upon the "visible forms of nature," not upon the invisible *realities* of the Spirit; and though he sees and describes a splendid significance in those *forms*, he has not yet conceived, and therefore he cannot paint the sublimity of those *realities*. He is therefore more Greek than Jew or Christian, and he has the pantheistic spirit that glows and burns, that kindles and loves when it can feel or see, but which darkens and dies, and cannot be made to burn nor adore, where its intuitions are the only light on which it must depend. He can follow logic and the senses, but not the godlike reason. Hence he is

tame here compared to what he is when abroad in the fields. With nature he is alive and genial, suggestive and ennobling; but alone with his own spirit, silent and unsocial, bashful and unsatisfactory: so in regard to the subject of Home he is Greek and not English, at least not in the sense in which Cowper and Wordsworth are English. There is no lack of allusion to the home affections, but there are few pictures of home and its heart-softening influences, and that too in the midst of poetry that riots in descriptions of nature, the beauty and suggestive power of which are so much increased by cottage-homes scattered along all her hillsides and valleys. In "The Murdered Traveler," however, is a picture of home, where all the love of wife and children are mingled with that "fond anxiety" which makes "home" one of the most foreboding, yet one of the dearest and sweetest words in the language. The whole piece is inimitable, entirely in the spirit of the old English home-poetry, and yet American in all its scenery and associations:

"When spring, to woods and wastes around,
Brought bloom and joy again,
The murder'd traveler's bones were found,
Far down a narrow glen.

* * * * *

"The red-bird warbled, as he wrought
His hanging nest o'erhead,
And fearless, near the fatal spot,
Her young the partridge led.

"But there was weeping far away,
And gentle eyes for him,
With watching many an anxious day
Were sorrowful and dim.

* * * * *

"But long they look'd, and fear'd, and wept,
Within his distant home;
And dream'd and started as they slept,
For joy that he had come."—Pp. 96, 97, 98.

After having made the foregoing exceptions there is nothing else to be said in disparagement of these poems, or in abatement of the highest praise that can be bestowed upon them. The topics most often touched upon, and most lovingly sung, are nature and her teachings; freedom and patriotism, with their arousing, exalting influences; human affections and their heart-soothing tendencies, and the grand movements and progressions of the race, gradually bringing on a better time for mankind. In relation to those poems that simply describe nature, and overflow with her delightful moralities, nothing can be found written in English sweeter in spirit and flow of language, or better seeing what ought to be seen, and more

admirably expressing it, nor more American in general tone and coloring. Not that Bryant is always to be distinguished from the English poets as an American. There are but few things that would mark these poems as written in America instead of England or Scotland; but there are some such things. Such is "March." No one but an American, who had loved the "sugar season," and had helped to gather the "sap," or "sugar water;" who had enjoyed "sugaring off," and been one of the party of youths who poured the delicious "wax" upon the new-fallen snow, could have written such a poem; and though not a word is said of these things, yet the poem "smells" of them, as some men's poems are said to smell of the lamp.

"The stormy March is come at last,
With wind, and cloud, and changing skies,
I hear the rushing of the blast,
That through the valley flies.

"Ah, passing few are they who speak,
Wild stormy March! in praise of thee;
Yet though the winds are loud and bleak,
Thou art a welcome month to me.

"For thou, to northern lands again
The glad and glorious sun dost bring,
And thou hast join'd the gentle train,
And wear'st the gentle name of Spring.

"And in thy reign of blast and storm,
Smiles many a long, bright, sunny day,
When the changed winds are soft and warm,
And heaven puts on the blue of May.

"Then sing aloud the gushing rills,
From Winter's durance just set free,
And, brightly leaping down the hills,
Begin their journey to the sea.

"The year's departing beauty hides
Of wintry storms the sullen threat;
But in thy sternest frown abides
A look of kindly promise yet.

"Thou bring'st the hope of those calm skies,
And that soft time of sunny showers,
When the wide bloom on earth that lies,
Seems of a brighter world than ours."—Pp. 67, 68.

Of "A Winter Piece" it may be said that while its scenery is American, it might have been written by a foreigner as well as by a native. Not so of "A Forest Hymn," which has a depth of grandeur in thought and a finish in diction truly admirable. Such a hymn could have been conceived by no one not familiar from infancy with the thick foliage and tall trunks of our primeval forests. It

would be breaking a dew-drop to quote a fragment from this universal favorite—the proper translation into words of the mysteriously murmured music which that mighty old harper, the wind, is always playing upon the branches and leaves of the ancient woods. The same love for woods, and the same joyous labor to describe them, shows itself in the “Hunter’s Serenade:”

“Or wouldst thou gaze at tokens
Of ages long ago—
Our old oaks stream with mosses,
And sprout with mistletoe;
And mighty vines, like serpents climb,
The giant sycamore;
And trunks, o’erthrown for centuries,
Cumber the forest floor;
And in the great savanna,
The solitary mound,
Built by the elder world, o’erlooks
The loneliness around.”—P. 162.

Among the best and most suggestive poems in the whole collection are “The Gladness of Nature,” “The Death of the Flowers,” “A Summer Ramble,” and “To the Fringed Gentian.” There is the same difficulty in quoting from these that there would be in exhibiting a single petal of a rose, or in showing the lock of hair, to prove or to exemplify the beauty of the queen of flowers or the loveliness of woman. There is a completeness and a oneness about many of these poems, that proves them to have been made at one “heat,” as a smith would say, or rather born, or made as are the rain-drops, and rounded into perfection by some almost active principle of self-balancing coherence; and the high polish and finish which they display, shows how repeatedly they have been retouched. These five verses, from the opening of the “Ramble,” are given as a specimen of unsurpassed description:

“The quiet August noon has come,
A slumbrous silence fills the sky,
The fields are still, the woods are dumb,
In glassy sleep the waters lie.
“And mark yon soft white clouds that rest
Above our vale, a moveless throng;
The cattle on the mountain’s breast
Enjoy the grateful shadow long.
“O how unlike those merry hours,
In early June, when Earth laughs out,
When the fresh winds make love to flowers,
And woodlands sing, and waters shout;
“When in the grass sweet voices talk,
And strains of tiny music swell
From every moss-cup of the rock,
From every nameless blossom bell.

"But now a joy too deep for sound,
A peace no other season knows,
Hushes the heavens and wraps the ground,
The blessing of supreme repose."—Pp. 153, 154.

"The "Wind," however, is the thing that Bryant most loves to play with of all the sights, and sounds, and agencies of nature, and it is really wonderful how frequently and how variously he returns to it; how he makes us feel its cool breath and inhale its aerial life and divine fragrance; how he makes it talk with and inspirit us, and how familiarly he associates with it all grand and ennobling ideas and emotions. He writes about it in almost all forms of meter, and by almost all possible names, saving the Latin and Greek terms zephyr, boreas, and the like, for which he most commendably seems to have no fondness. First in order, then, we have "The West Wind," a gem of beauty in the ballad style:

"Beneath the forest's skirt I rest,
Whose branching pines rise dark and high,
And hear the breezes of the West
Among the thread-like foliage sigh.

* * * * *

"Thou wind of joy, and youth, and love,
Spirit of the new-awakened year!
The sun in his blue realm above

Smooths a bright path when thou art here."—P. 36.

"The Summer Wind," in blank verse, a fragment, probably of the same great design from which "Noon" is also taken, has a delightful rhythm and a pleasing movement as truly bewitching as rhyme. "After a Tempest" is in the Spenserian stanza, and paints a most lovely scene of the quiet and hopeful hereafter, when all winds and passions shall be at war no more. It describes a lovely afternoon, when the winds were laid and the rains were withdrawn; the sunlight glimmered on the rain-drops still clinging to the leaves; the birds flew abroad, and the squirrels were chattering; insects were on the wing,

"And darted up and down the butterfly,
That seem'd a living blossom of the air."

It closes with thoughts of the great peace yet to be. Then "The Winds," is a poem in a stanza very remarkable for its easy flow, vigorous expression, and terse condensation. Its scope is exactly the opposite of "After a Tempest," and its moralizing alludes to the struggle for freedom yet to come.

"Ye winds, ye unseen currents of the air!
Softly ye played a few brief hours ago;
Ye bore the murmuring bee; ye toss'd the hair
O'er maiden cheeks, that took a fresher glow;

Ye rolled the round white cloud through depths of blue;
 Ye shook from shaded flowers the lingering dew;
 Before you the catalpa's blossoms flew,
 Light blossoms, dropping on the grass like snow.

"How are ye changed! Ye take the cataract's sound;
 Ye take the whirlwind's fury and its might;
 The mountain shudders as ye sweep the ground;
 The valley woods lie prone beneath your flight;
 The clouds before you shoot like eagles past;
 The homes of men are rocking in your blast;
 Ye lift the roofs like autumn leaves, and cast
 Skyward the whirling fragments out of sight.

* * * * *

"Why rage ye thus?—no strife for liberty
 Has made you mad; no tyrant, strong through fear,
 Has chained your pinions till ye wrench'd them free,
 And rush'd in to the unmeasured atmosphere;
 For ye were born in freedom where ye blow;
 Free o'er the mighty deep to come and go;
 Earth's solemn woods were yours, his wastes of snow,
 Her isles where summer blossoms all the year."—Pp. 171, 172.

"The Hurricane" is another poem full of sublimity which cannot be quoted; and in "Lines on Revisiting the Country," we have a still more appropriate and characteristic personification:

"The mountain wind! most spiritual thing of all
 The wide earth knows; when, in the sultry time,
 He stoops him from the vast cerulean hall,
 He seems the breath of a celestial clime!
 As if from heaven's wide-open gates did flow
 Health and refreshment on the world below."—Pp. 125.

Nowhere else could this have been written but in the mountains of western Massachusetts, and by nobody but by one who had spent his boyhood among the elms and maples that grow by the side of the rushing streams which pour down their slope. But above all other poems in the English tongue descriptive of winds and the thoughts which they may suggest, and better than all, is that entitled "The Evening Wind." It is in the rhyme of Italy, so skillfully woven, so beautifully checkered with every hue of language that fancy can gather and good taste approve, and so artfully using every thought of beauty and pathos that the imagination can conceive:

"Spirit that breathes through my lattice, thou
 That cool'st the twilight of the sultry day,
 Gratefully flows thy freshness round my brow;
 Thou hast been out upon the deep at play,
 Riding all day the wild blue waves till now,
 Roughening their crests, and scattering high their spray,
 And swelling the white sail. I welcome thee
 To the scorched land, thou wanderer of the sea!

"Not I alone—a thousand bosoms round
 Inhale thee in the fullness of delight;
 And languid forms rise up, and pulses bound
 Livelier, at coming of the wind of night;
 And languishing to hear thy grateful sound,
 Lies the vast inland, stretched beyond the sight.
 Go forth into the gathering shade; go forth,
 God's blessing breathed upon the fainting earth!

 "Go, rock the little wood-bird in his nest,
 Curl the still waters, bright with stars, and rouse
 The wide old wood from his majestic rest,
 Summoning, from the innumerable boughs,
 The strange, deep harmonies that haunt his breast:
 Pleasant shall be thy way where meekly bows
 The shutting flower, and darkling waters pass,
 And where the o'ershadowing branches sweep the grass.

 "The faint old man shall lean his silver head
 To feel thee; thou shalt kiss the child asleep,
 And dry the moistened curls that overspread
 His temples, while his breathing grows more deep:
 And they who stand about the sick man's bed,
 Shall joy to listen to thy distant sweep,
 And softly part his curtains to allow
 Thy visit, grateful to his burning brow.

 "Go—but the circle of eternal change,
 Which is the life of nature, shall restore,
 With sounds and scents from all thy mighty range,
 Thee to thy birthplace of the deep once more;
 Sweet odors in the sea-air, sweet and strange,
 Shall tell the home-sick mariner of the shore;
 And, listening to thy murmur, he shall deem
 He hears the rustling leaf and running stream."—Pp. 168-70.

Through all these descriptions of nature runs a noble, though unobtrusive vein of moralizing, so easily and naturally introduced, that the reader might readily imagine the poet's words to be but the teachings of his own heart, made better and wiser by contact with the nobler mind of the author. We find this gentle unobtrusive moralizing in "*Thanatopsis*," (which, with all its pantheism, cannot be easily overestimated,) in "*The Yellow Violet*," (an incense-breathing spring lyric,) in "*A Walk at Sunset*," "*To a Cloud*," and indeed in nearly every piece that relates to nature. It sings in "*June*" and "*The Firmament*" in magnificent rhymes. Here is an example:

"I gazed upon the glorious sky
 And the green mountains round;
 And thought that when I came to lie
 At rest within the ground,
 'Twere pleasant, in that flowery June,
 When brooks send up a cheerful tune,
 And groves a joyful sound,
 The sexton's hand, my grave to make,
 The rich green mountain turf should break.

* * * * *

"There through the long, long summer hours
 The golden light should lie,
 And thick young herbs and groups of flowers
 Stand in their beauty by.
 The oriole should build and tell
 His love-tale close beside my cell;
 The idle butterfly
 Should rest him there, and there be heard
 The housewife bee and humming-bird.

* * * * *

"I know, I know I should not see
 The season's glorious show,
 Nor would its brightness shine for me,
 Nor its wild music flow;
 But if around my place of sleep,
 The friends I love should come to weep,
 They might not haste to go.
 Soft airs, and song, and light, and bloom,
 Should keep them lingering by my tomb."—Pp. 112-14.

"A Walk at Sunset" is in the spirit of a noble lyric composed after a summer shower, in the chambers of the sun, as he catches glimpses of the earth in her heightened beauty. But on the noble topics of freedom and patriotism, Bryant is truly American. Here he is nobler than the old Greeks, and he speaks with power and sublimity. Witness his "Sonnet to William Tell:"

"Chains may subdue the feeble spirit, but thee,
 TELL, of the iron heart! they could not tame!
 For thou wert of the mountains; they proclaim
 The everlasting creed of liberty.
 That creed is written on the untrampled snow
 Thundered by torrents which no power can hold,
 Save that of God when he sends forth his cold,
 And breathed by winds that through the free heavens blow.
 Thou, while thy prison walls were dark around,
 Didst meditate the lesson Nature taught,
 And to thy brief captivity was brought
 A vision of Switzerland unbound,
 The bitter cup they mingled, strengthened thee
 For thy great work to set thy country free."—P. 160.

The poem, or rather the part of a poem, called "Antiquity of Freedom," deserves mention for its high spirit and elegant verse, though it cannot be quoted here. But there must be space to insert the spirited tribute to William Leggett, which is one of the noblest offerings of friendship to sterling worth and brave honesty yet written, and it ought to have a much wider circulation than even many others in the volume have had:

"The earth may ring from shore to shore,
 With echoes of a glorious name,
 But he, whose loss our tears deplore,
 Has left behind him more than fame.

"For when the death-frost came to lie
On Leggett's warm and mighty heart,
And quench his bold and friendly eye,
His spirit did not all depart.

"The words of fire that from his pen
Were flung upon the fervid page
Still move, still shake the hearts of men,
Amid a cold and coward age.

"His love of truth, too warm, too strong,
For hope or fear to chain or chill,
His hate of tyranny and wrong,
Burn in the breasts he kindled still."—P. 279.

A martyr's life is not lost when his death awakes such echoes as these to reverberate forever among the literature of a nation; nor has a patriot lived in vain if his labors have prompted any one to build for him so noble a monument.

How like a pæan after a glorious victory do the ideas and cadences of that noble song, "*The Battle Field*," strike on the ear and thrill the soul! It is the jubilate of joy and hope, accompanied by the spirit-stirring notes of a whole orchestra. How sweet its tones, how noble its sentiments, how grand its thoughts, so hopeful of right, so defiant of wrong, so uncompromisingly ready to live in misery and disgrace, in toil and suffering, if but the true and the good triumph! The ninth verse is more quoted than almost any other verse of poetry in the language, and yet it is scarcely better than any other in the poem. It only makes a point. After four stanzas descriptive of a quiet pastoral scene, where a battle was once fought, he says:

"Soon rested those who fought; but thou
Who minglest in a harder strife
For truths which men receive not now,
Thy warfare only ends with life.

"A friendless warfare! lingering long
Through weary day and weary year.
A wild and many-weaponed throng
Hang on thy front, and flank, and rear.

"Yet nerve thy spirit to the proof,
And blench not at thy chosen lot;
The timid good may stand aloof,
The sage may frown, but faint thou not.

"Nor heed the shaft too surely cast,
The foul and hissing bolt of scorn;
For with thy side shall dwell at last,
The victory of endurance born.

"Truth crush'd to earth shall rise again;
The eternal years of God are hers;
But error wounded, writhes in pain,
And dies amid her worshipers.

"Yea, though thou lie upon the dust,
When they who helped thee flee in fear,
Die full of hope and manly trust,
Like those who fell in battle here.

"Another hand thy sword shall wield,
Another hand the standard wave,
Till from the trumpet's mouth is pealed
The blast of triumph o'er thy grave."—Pp. 260-2.

Human affections, as has already been said, do not appear so frequently in Bryant's poetry as descriptions of natural scenery and moralizings upon them. But these are by no means overlooked. Their silent unspoken influence, and their felt presence is everywhere. "Robert of Lincoln" is the best specimen of the domestic or conjugal affection in the book. It is a beauty, and the only really good description of the very worthy and agreeable gentleman whom it describes, and who is such a favorite in all New England, and such an addition to the elegance and delights of a rural cottage or hamlet. It should be taught to all little children and repeated by all large ones till we act in spirit.

One mighty thought reigns in all these poems, as it should in all true poetry, that man, under the tuition of nature and the Spirit of God, is daily growing better. This thought is the burden of the first and longest poem in the volume, entitled "The Ages." The plan of it (for it is not a poem to quote from) is this: Observing the death of the good and the young, we naturally turn to the lengthened days of the honored sage, and call those "ages holy." But we must not despair, for death strikes the wicked too, and if we look through nature we shall see that

"Eternal Love doth keep
In his complacent arms, the earth, the air, the deep"

History teaches that mankind are better now than in darker times :

"That Error's monstrous shapes from earth are driven ;
They fade, they fly, but Truth survives their flight ;
Earth has no shades to quench that beam of heaven ;
Each ray that shone, in early time to light
The faltering footstep in the path of right,
Each gleam of clearer brightness shed to aid
In man's maturer day his bolder sight,
All blended, like the rainbow's radiant braid,
Pour yet, and still shall pour, the blaze that cannot fade."

And so he closes with auguring a glorious day for our beloved country, which cannot fall but by the hands of her own children. Mr. Bryant manages this intractable verse (the Spenserian) with as much ease as the common doggerel of the ballad ; and although its reach of melody is too long, and its rhymes too far apart, and often

too indistinct, for the delight of ordinary readers, yet it is as noble as the oratorios of Handel or Haydn. It is not likely soon to become popular. This kind of verse, like the measure of many of the hymns of Charles Wesley, needs an education to understand and appreciate it.

Mr. Bryant has written nothing in these poems that can have an impure or hurtful tendency. He has, since his almost infantile writings, scarcely attempted satire at all, and there is nothing of the broad and doubtful sort of humor or caricature in the whole collection. Not a syllable is here of which virtue herself could complain, and nothing that tends to make us laugh at or undervalue our fellow men; but much to make the soul strong in opposing error, in bravely battling for truth, and in patiently waiting the revelation of a brighter and a better day for our afflicted race. His thoughts are chaste, generally noble, never low or commonplace, always tending to improve those who read. They lead you to the pure air and grand scenery of the mountain top, not so much that you may look down upon the glorious sights of the earth beneath, as that you may be strengthened by the healthful exercise, and may get a broader view of the illimitable heaven and numberless stars above your head. His metaphors and similes are easily suggested, and actually illustrate his subject and deepen the impression on the mind, as well as add beauty to the language; and while there is no attempt to seek originality in phrase or in construction, there is such a newness and freshness about the thought as pleases more than startling antitheses or elaborate modernisms. The verses and stanzas are so harmoniously constructed that all their hinges seem to be golden, and even the blank verse often moves with as liquid a flow as some of Whittier's fiery rhymes. There is a polish about these poems that but few Englishmen have been willing to wait for. It is probably impossible to tell how much time and labor this excellent finish has cost; though we can guess it by remembering, that in fifty years almost we have less than one hundred and fifty poems, containing not much to exceed six thousand lines. Here are less than one hundred and fifty lines a year on the average, an example to be imitated by poets and prose writers as well. The words are most admirably chosen to express sweetness, grace, and elegance, or energy, patience and hopefulness, qualities for which the poems are especially distinguished. They are easy to be understood, definite in sense, and used with great precision; in sound they are musical, and admirably harmonize with the idea. They are for the most part pure English, with the least intermixture of Latin, about eleven or twelve words in the hundred being of a foreign origin, while Milton, Pope, and Addison

use in their poetry twenty-four nearly, and Burns and Bishop Heber, the most English of all our writers, use eight or ten. It has not been the purpose of this article to quote examples of the beautiful and appropriate use of words and metaphors, or to select the beauties of the volume, so much as to make clear and enforce its noble lessons of love for nature and human progress. Hence the quotations have been longer, and they are often brought in more for their high moral instruction than for their composition or versification. And yet it is believed that no injustice has been done the author on any score.

Perhaps the book should not be dismissed without one word more respecting the illustrations, which do not deserve unqualified praise, though better than most of their kind. A few of them do not illustrate the conception of the piece where they stand, yet the most of them do. There are many landscapes that are almost as much of studies and beauties as the admirable poems they accompany, and we wish for even more of them. The portrait of the author can be *read* again and again, and will not weary the reader, for its noble brow, its *thought-full* wrinkles, its sweet mouth yet firm, and its far-seeing eyes, seem to invite friendship and promise instruction, a promise not unfulfilled to him who turns over these pages either to read the text or look at the pictures.

Several of the poems in blank verse, as "The Fountain," "Noon," "An Evening Reverie," and others, we are told, are parts of a larger poem which may yet see the light. Indeed, much of this kind of poetry throughout the volume seems to be intended for such a purpose, or at least it could be readily joined into one great poem on "Nature and her Teachings." Such are "Thanatopsis," "Inscription for a Wood," "A Winter Piece," "Summer Wind," "Earth," "A Hymn of the Sea," "A Rain Dream;" all of which seem made to the same key-notes, or rather appear to be the well-wrought key-stones of arches in a magnificent temple yet to be builded. Possibly Mr. Bryant is now too busy in the great battle for free principles, bequeathed to him by his friend Leggett, to undertake, or, more truly, to finish such a work. But what a noble close of life his might be (for he is only just now sixty-three, entering upon a green and vigorous old age) if, while with one hand he wields the sword in the defense and in the propagation of freedom and truth, he would, with the other, collect these well-wrought and highly polished fragments into one grand poem, that should almost outsize Milton himself, and make for our American poet a monument, a structure built by his own genius, which should last while men admire beautiful words or grand conceptions.

ART. IV.—THOMAS JEFFERSON.

1. *Jefferson's Complete Works*; being his Autobiography, Correspondence, Reports, Messages, Addresses, and other Writings, Original and Private, from Original Manuscripts. Nine vols. Taylor & Maury: Washington, D. C.
2. *The Life of Thomas Jefferson*, by HENRY S. RANDALL, LL.D. Derby & Jackson.
3. *The Private Correspondence of Daniel Webster*; edited by FLETCHER WEBSTER. Two vols. Boston: Little, Brown & Co.

FOREMOST among the men of his times, and we think the best representative, on the whole, of the ideas then working among the masses, was Thomas Jefferson. We have been led, equally by his ancient reputation, and by the still prevalent authority of his name, to a special examination of his life and character, and the results we propose to embody in the present article. Of the volumes before us, we shall refer chiefly to those first on the list, because we have long held the doctrine, that nowhere else does a man reveal himself so thoroughly as in his private correspondence. These are nine in number, of some six hundred pages each, and containing many of his letters to confidential friends, written at all periods of his life. The first contains his autobiography, written at the age of seventy-seven; a fac-simile of the Declaration of Independence as he originally drafted it; his early correspondence with youthful friends, and a number of letters, private and official, to various persons, among whom are Washington, Madison, Monroe, John Adams, General Greene, Paul Jones, John Jay, Lafayette, Elbridge Gerry, and most of the distinguished men of that day. The other eight volumes are taken up with letters, addresses, his Notes on Virginia, the celebrated Anas, and shrewd comments on various subjects, from growing tobacco and raising sheep, to governing nations and solving man's destiny. His life, by Judge Randall, is to be completed in three volumes; the first only is before us, though we believe the second has also appeared. This brings Mr. Jefferson's life down to his entrance into Washington's cabinet as Secretary of State, in 1790. The work is generally well executed; but there is little of value in it which we do not find expressed in Mr. Jefferson's own words in the volumes above mentioned. For this reason, we shall probably have no occasion to refer to it, though we may make some use of its materials in working up the text. The third work needs no explanation; we shall use it for only a single, though lengthy and valuable quotation.

Mr. Jefferson was born of respectable parentage, in 1743, among the mountainous regions of Albemarle county, Virginia.

His father was a man of great strength and courage, of Scotch descent, and especially noted for all that acuteness of judgment conceded to his countrymen. "He traced his pedigree far back in England and Scotland," says Mr. Jefferson, and adds, with truly republican accent, "to which let every one ascribe the faith and merit he chooses." Thomas, the eldest son, was early put to books, for which, even then, he manifested a great fondness. At the early age of seventeen he was regularly matriculated in William and Mary College, where he subsequently graduated with honor, and soon after commenced his clerkship at law in Williamsburg, under the direction of George Wythe, then one of the most considerable lawyers in Virginia. Like other young men, he had his love affairs, which ultimately solidified into matrimony. While in Williamsburg, it appears that his attentions were about equally divided between Coke on Littleton, and Miss Rebecca Burwell, though he subsequently married a Mrs. Martha Skelton, a young widow of twenty-three. Like most men of spirit in those times, he took an ardent part in the exciting politics of the day, and in 1769, but two years after his admission to the bar, was returned to the General Assembly of Virginia. Here he soon distinguished himself as an active working member, though possessed of little oratory, for which he was physically disqualified. His voice was naturally weak, and when he spoke soon became husky; in after years he quitted the forum altogether, exchanging the tongue for the pen. Here he greatly excelled, as his voluminous papers abundantly show; indeed, as a writer he has seldom been equalled in the three great requisites of style—perspicuity, accuracy and force. His large information, his keen knowledge of mankind, his practical cast of character, and signal ability with the pen, eminently fitted him for drafting the documents issuing from the various deliberative bodies through which he successively passed. This was his sphere; he had the discernment early to perceive it, and to abandon the more showy grace of oratory for the more substantial one of composition. Lord Bacon, we believe it is, somewhere makes the remark, that there are but two ways of securing immortality, one by performing deeds worthy to be written, and the other by writing of such deeds. Jefferson did both, and, if Bacon be authority, is therefore doubly immortal. From the Colonial Legislature he passed into the Continental Congress, where he was not only a prominent but leading member, and though speaking but seldom himself, yet furnishing much of the matter for the speeches of others. As author of the Declaration of Independence, the most thorough, compact, and vigorous state paper our age has pro-

duced, his fame is secure at least for centuries, if not forever. He was now employed two years with Mr. Pendleton and Mr. Wythe, in the codification of the Laws of Virginia. This laborious and thankless work concluded, he was elected governor, next to the Legislature, and then to Congress again. Subsequently he was sent to Europe as Minister Plenipotentiary; on his return he was appointed Secretary of State under the administration of Washington, then elected vice-president under the elder Adams, and lastly became our third president for two successive terms. Afterward, when he had retired to private life, he was appointed a Visitor and Rector of the University of Virginia. With this brief *resumé* of his public services, extending through a period of sixty-one years, let us try to sketch his character.

1. He was thoroughly republican, and therefore, as we have elsewhere said, we consider him the best representative man of his times, if not of our history; for with him republicanism was a leading, intense, and controlling sentiment. It was scarcely so with any other great man of his times. Washington loved the Republic, and resolved to give it the aid of all his splendid and weighty character; in his own words, as recorded by Jefferson, he declared he "would spend the last drop of his blood"* to give it a fair trial; but, conservative by nature, even he despaired of the ability of the people to govern themselves. John Adams, of greater attainments than Jefferson, and perhaps greater genius, though of far less practical wisdom, admitted frankly his doubts of the masses and his love of an aristocracy;† while Hamilton, wise in most of his projects and great in everything, was an avowed monarchist. Hamilton went so far as to prepare the "draught of a circular letter," to be sent to various persons of consequence, soliciting their co-operation in the establishment of a monarchical government.‡ But in the teeth of such opposition, Jefferson declared his full faith in the integrity and ability of the people, proclaimed himself their defender, and baring his arm for the battle, fought like a Hercules in vindication of his cherished principles. Hear him in the utterance of those sublime propositions upon which the Revolution was staked, and fought, and also won:

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that ALL men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from THE CONSENT OF THE GOVERNED; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is THE RIGHT OF THE PEOPLE to alter

* Vol. vi, p. 97; vol. ix, p. 96.

† Vol. vi, p. 160, 254-260; vol. ix, p. 96.

‡ Vol. vii, p. 389-90; vol. ix, 26, 47, 69, 96, 122.

or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundations on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect *their* safety and happiness."

These sonorous sentences were bugle blasts, well calculated to arouse the nation, and the nations, and they could not and cannot but make kings and tyrants tremble on their thrones. Solemnly affirming the sovereignty of the people, they went home to the hearts and the consciences of the American colonists; they constituted their battle-cry on many a well-fought battle-field; and the future historian will recognize them as the cabalistic words from which resulted a national development already marvelous, in less than a century from the nation's genesis, and destined to become the most magnificent the world ever saw. But hear him further:

"Societies exist under three forms, sufficiently distinguishable. 1. Without government, as among our Indians. 2. Under governments, wherein the will of every one has a just influence, as is the case of England in a slight degree, and in our states in a great one. 3. Under government of force, as is the case in all other monarchies, and in most of the other republics. To have an idea of the curse of existence under these last, they must be seen. It is a government of wolves over sheep. It is a problem not clear in my mind, that the first condition is not the best; but I believe it to be inconsistent with any great degree of population. The second state has a great deal of good in it. The mass of mankind under that enjoy a precious degree of liberty and happiness. It has its evils too; the principal of which is the turbulence to which it is subject. But weigh this against the oppressions of monarchy, and it becomes nothing. *Malo periculosam libertatem quam quietam servitutem.* Even this evil is productive of good. It prevents the degeneracy of government, and nourishes a general attention to the public affairs. I hold it, that a little rebellion, now and then, is a good thing, and as necessary to the political world as storms in the physical."—Vol. ii, p. 105.

There is a vast deal of wisdom condensed in these rough paragraphs, indeed the results of a lifetime of observation and reflection. And again, in commenting on Hume, whom he styles "the great apostle of toryism," but who could not be otherwise than treacherous also to liberty, when he had renounced his allegiance to Christianity; Hume, in Chapter 159, in speaking of the reign of the Stuarts, says: "The commons established a principle which is noble in itself, and seems specious, but is belied by all history and experience, *that the people are the origin of all just power.*" To this Jefferson interrogates indignantly, almost fiercely:

"And where else will this degenerate son of science, this traitor to his fellow men, find the origin of *just* powers, if not in the majority of society? Will it be in the minority? or in an individual of that minority?"—Vol. vii, p. 356.

Here is a rigid statement in a nutshell of the old cause of *The People vs. Kings*. The matter in controversy could hardly be compressed into a smaller compass. It is the short argument of a

master advocate. The triad of questions winds up with a climacteric twitch, like the clinching of a well-driven rivet. He makes short work of Mr. Hume's stilted sophism.

As a natural consequence of his strong love of republicanism, he had an equally strong hatred of monarchism. At the close of the Revolution there was a large party in our country devoted to monarchy. We have already alluded to Adams and Hamilton; these were but the outspoken leaders of thousands of men, no doubt sincere in their views, but who were utterly opposed to the establishment of a republic, because of its alleged turbulence and commotions. How just these allegations were, we have elsewhere hinted; they were to be expected, when we reflect that the charges come from historians, who were generally the paid creatures of kings, and dependent on monarchy, not only for their subsistence, but also for their lives. What republics have had fair play, have ultimately been subverted by kings; through all the past, with slight exception, tyrants have had their hands at the throats of the people, or have whipped them along like dogs; and therefore, when we remember how, in every age, genius and talent have cringed at the feet of power, we repeat it is to be expected that historians would pronounce *vox populi* to be *vox diaboli*, though its divine intonations assured them that it was in reality the voice of God. The time for such false histories is past. A new era has dawned upon mankind. Freedom, with its beneficent and vivifying influences, is abroad in the earth, to extinguish error, to confound prejudice, and to rebuke despots, unclouding brains, and unshackling pens.

What Mr. Jefferson thought of monarchies, may be seen by the following passages, written by him from Europe just previous to the adoption of the Federal Constitution:

"With all the defects of our constitution, whether general or particular, the comparison of our governments with those of Europe, is like a comparison of heaven and hell. England, like the earth, may be allowed to take the intermediate station. And yet I hear there are people among you who think the experience of our governments has already proved that republican governments will not answer."

And then he adds, in a keen sarcasm:

"Send those gentry here to count the blessings of monarchy!"—Vol. ii, p. 249.

Again he writes, about the same time:

"I was such an enemy to monarchies before I came to Europe. I am ten thousand times more so since I have seen what they are. There is scarcely an evil known in these countries, which may not be traced to their king as its source, nor a good which is not derived from the small fibers of republicanism existing among them. I can further say, with safety, there is not a crowned

head in Europe whose talents or merits would entitle him to be elected a vestryman by the people of any parish in America."—Vol. ii, p. 375.

Again he declares war on this wise:

"No race of kings has ever presented above one man of common sense in twenty generations. The best thing they can do is to leave things to their ministers; and what are their ministers but a committee badly chosen?" Vol. ii, p. 220.

This was in 1787, when he was Minister Plenipotentiary to the Court of France. Twenty-three years afterward, in his retirement at Monticello, at the age of sixty-seven, he elaborates thus:

"While in Europe, I often amused myself with contemplating the characters of the then reigning sovereigns of Europe. Louis the XVI. was a fool, of my own knowledge, and despite the answers made for him at his trial. The King of Spain was a fool, and of Naples the same. They passed their lives in hunting, and despatched two couriers a week, one thousand miles, to let each other know what game they had killed the preceding days. The King of Sardinia was a fool. All these were Bourbons. The queen of Portugal, or Braganza, was an idiot by nature. And so was the king of Denmark. The King of Prussia, successor to the great Frederic, was a mere boy in body as well as in mind. Gustavus of Sweden, and Joseph of Austria, were really crazy, and George of England, you know, was in a strait waistcoat. There remained, then, none but old Catharine, who had been too lately picked up to have lost her common sense. . . . And so endeth the book of kings, from all of whom the Lord deliver us, and have you, my friend, and all such good men and true, in his holy keeping.—Vol. v, p. 515.

In explanation of this royal degradation, he writes as follows, with equal philosophy and plainness:

"The practice of kings marrying only in the families of kings, has been that of Europe for some centuries. Now, take any race of animals, confine them in idleness and inaction, whether in a sty, a stable, or a state-room, pamper them with high diet, gratify all their sexual appetites, immerse them in sensualities, nourish their passions, let everything bend before them, and banish whatever might lead them to think, and in a few generations they become all body and no mind; and this, too, by a law of nature, by that very law by which we are in the constant practice of changing the characters and propensities of the animals we raise for our own purposes. Such is the regime for raising kings, and in this way they have gone on for centuries."—Vol. v, 514-515.

One more quotation, in which his righteous indignation seems to culminate, and we have done with this head:

"So much for the blessings of having kings, and magistrates who would be kings. From these our young republic may learn useful lessons, to guard against hereditary magistrates, and to besiege the throne of heaven with eternal prayers, to extirpate from creation this class of human lions, tigers, and mammoths, called kings; from whom, let him perish who does not say, 'Good Lord, deliver us!'"

We think, with such an ample record, Mr. Jefferson's republicanism is established beyond cavil. Such sentiments, intrinsically so valuable and so rigorously expressed, would be refreshing at any

time; they are especially so now, when many good men really fear we are drifting fast toward centralization. Religiously, we must do our first works over again, when we have lost ground; so, socially, it is of value to revive the past, when its great principles have become obscure or been departed from.

So great was Mr. Jefferson's jealousy of centralization, that he was opposed to the clause of the Constitution which permits the re-eligibility of the president. He thought the presidency should be restricted to one term. Reason and experience, he thought, assured us, that if the president *might* be re-elected he *would* be re-elected; that foreign nations would have an interest in his re-election, if his previous administration had suited them, and would promote it by money—if need be, by arms. With singular prescience he prophesies, in 1787, that in a few years the election of a president of the United States "will be much more interesting to certain nations of Europe than ever the election of a king of Poland was." Therefore, he thought, as the Roman emperors, the popes, the German emperors, the king of Poland, and the deys of the Ottoman dependencies, had all once been elective, but afterward became absolute or hereditary, so the power of removing every fourth year by the vote of the people would be a power which they could not exercise, or, if disposed to exercise it, would not be permitted. The King of Poland, he says, was removable every day by the Diet; yet they *never* removed him, nor would the European monarchs have sanctioned his removal. He winds up his objections by declaring that the president, as provided for in the Federal Constitution, "seems a bad edition of a Polish king. He *may* be elected from four years to four years for life."* This feature of the Constitution, however, has so far with us proved less serious in practice than alarming in theory. Washington held over for two terms, in obedience to the almost unanimous voice of the republic. Jefferson himself did not hesitate to do the same, when subsequently elevated to the presidency; Madison and Monroe were each eight years in the White House, as likewise Jackson; but this seems to have become the limit beyond which the popular preference will not go. Indeed, since the time of Jackson, the one term policy has so much prevailed, we should say so continually, that all parties have pretty much conceded that hereafter the principle thereof shall generally be adhered to. Mr. Jefferson's mistake lay in the assumption, that we, too, would be compelled to become a make-weight in preserving the mysterious "balance of power" in Europe. Fortunately for us, a wide ocean rolled between, unbridged as yet by steamships and

* Vol. ii, p. 316.

telegraphs. Our infancy was passed in quietude, free from their machinations and unmolested by their arms; and now, when the achievements of our times have dwindled the distance to days instead of months, we have attained to vigorous manhood, and become too strong to be effectually bullied. Whatever may have been our condition once, we certainly have nothing now to fear from foreign dictation. In our judgment the only things we have to fear hereafter, are the hostile elements already silently warring in the bosom of the Republic.

For the same reason, (his dread of centralization,) but with much greater sagacity, his opposition to the constitutional construction of the Supreme Court amounted almost to terror. In his day this tribunal had not made such advances on our liberties as it has in ours; yet its position and known proclivities, even then, were such as to fill him with terror and alarm. But his views need no preface or elaboration; let them speak for themselves.

"The judiciary of the United States is the subtle corps of sappers and miners constantly working under ground to undermine the foundations of our confederated fabric. They are construing our Constitution from a co-ordination of a general and special government, to a general and supreme one alone. This will lay all things at their feet, and they are too well versed in English law to forget the maxim, '*Boni judicis est ampliare jurisdictionem.*'" Having found, from experience, that impeachment is an impracticable thing, a mere scare-crow, they consider themselves secure for life. An opinion is huddled up in conclave, perhaps by a majority of one, delivered as unanimous and with the silent acquiescence of lazy or timid associates, by a crafty chief judge, who sophisticates the law to his mind, by the turn of his own reasoning."—Vol. vii, 192.

Again he speaks of the Judiciary as

"An indispensable body, working like gravity by night and by day, gaining a little to-day and a little to-morrow, and advancing its noiseless step, like a thief, over the field of jurisdiction, until all shall be usurped from the states, and the government of all be consolidated into one. If the states look with apathy on this silent descent of their government into the gulf which is to swallow all, we have only to weep over the human character formed uncontrollable, but by a rod of iron, and the blasphemers of man, as incapable of self-government, become his true historians."—Vol. vii, p. 216.

He goes over the whole ground more completely in a compact and studied comment, defining the evil and suggesting a remedy, in his autobiography, written in 1821, at the advanced age of seventy-seven, in his retirement at Monticello:

"In England it was a great point gained at the Revolution, (English,) that the commissions of the judges, which had hitherto been during good pleasure, should thenceforth be made during good behaviour. A judiciary dependent on the will of the king had proved itself the most oppressive of all trusts in the hands of that magistrate. Nothing, then, could be more salutary, than a change there to the tenure of good behavior, left to the vote of the simple majority in the two houses of parliament. Before the Revolution (American)

we were all good English whigs, cordial in their free principles, and in their jealousies of their executive magistrate. These jealousies are very apparent in all our state constitutions; and in the general government, in this instance, we have gone even beyond the English caution, by requiring a vote of two-thirds, in one of the houses, for removing a judge; a vote so impossible, where any defense is made,* before men of ordinary prejudices and passions, that our judges are effectually independent of the nation. But this ought not to be. I would not, indeed, make them dependent on the executive authority, as they formerly were in England;† but I deem it indispensable to the continuance of this government, that they should be submitted to some practical and impartial control; and that this, to be imparted, must be compounded of a mixture of state and federal authorities. It is not enough that honest men are appointed judges. All know the influence of interest on the mind of man, and how unconsciously his judgment is warped by that influence. To this bias add that of the *esprit du corps*, of their peculiar maxim and creed, that 'it is the office of a good judge to enlarge his jurisdiction,' and the absence of responsibility; and how can we expect impartial decision between the general government, of which they are themselves so eminent a part, and an individual state, from which they have nothing to hope or fear? We have seen, too, that, contrary to all correct example, they are in the habit of going out of the question before them, to throw an anchor ahead, and grapple further hold for future advances of power. They are then, in fact, the corps of sappers and miners, steadily working to undermine the independent rights of the states, and to consolidate all power in the hands of the government in which they have so large a freehold estate. . . . I do not charge the judges with willful and ill-intentioned error; but honest error must be arrested, where its toleration leads to public ruin.—As, for the safety of society, we commit honest maniacs to Bedlam, so judges should be withdrawn from the bench, whose erroneous biases are leading us to dissolution. It may, indeed, injure them in fame or fortune; but it saves the Republic, which is the first and supreme law."—Vol. i, pp. 81, 82.

We have quoted nearly the whole of this passage, though aware of its undue length, because we deem it the best *resumé* of the subject extant. We bespeak a careful, or even a second perusal of it, because we consider it pregnant with truth. If these strictures were true then, nearly half a century ago, how much more so are they now, when viewed in the light (or rather in the darkness) of the Dred Scott case? When we consider the *obiter dicta* character of the decision in this notorious case, how the court traveled widely out of the record solely to crush a formidable political party, we see a peculiar significance in his remark that, "they are in the habit of going out of the question before them, to throw an anchor ahead, and grapple further hold for future advances of power."

There are two corollaries to his love of republicanism. First, his

* In the impeachment of Judge Pickering, of New-Hampshire, a habitual and maniac drunkard, no defence was made. Had there been, the party vote of more than one-third of the Senate would have acquitted him.

† He says, elsewhere: "A judiciary independent of a king or executive alone, is a good thing; but independence of the will of the nation is a solecism, at least in a republican government."

hatred of ultra-conservatism. Secondly, his opposition to slavery. We daily meet with men who, not inquiring wisely concerning this, are continually affirming "the *former* times were better than *these*." With them the past is the only thing worth remembering, and its relics the only things worth cherishing. "The golden age now gone," "the halcyon days of yore," the times of "auld lang syne,"

"The days gone by—the days gone by,"

these are the stereotype expressions subdividing all their thoughts, and pervading all their conversation. They can perceive no worth in the present times, and resist innovation as they would destruction. Now, conservatism is right and proper in its own sphere; but when it degenerates into timidity, or flusters into croakerism, it is death to all true progress. Mr. Jefferson, with his acute insight and large information, was too shrewd and philosophic not to perceive the steady though slow progress of the race Godward, and therefore waged a relentless war against what has been called in the nomenclature of the day, *fogyism*. He says, in 1816:

"Some men look at constitutions with sanctimonious reverence, and deem them, like the ark of the covenant, too sacred to be touched. They ascribe to the men of the preceding age a wisdom more than human, and suppose what they did to be beyond amendment. I know that age well; I belonged to it, and labored with it. It deserved well of its country. It was very like the present, but without the experience of the present; and forty years of experience in government is worth a century of book-reading; and this they would say themselves, were they to rise from the dead. . . . We might as well require a man to wear still the coat which fitted him when a boy, as civilized society to remain ever under the regimen of their barbarous ancestors."—Vol. vii, p. 15.

The right to thus "reform, alter, or abolish" institutions, is advanced with his customary originality, as well as republicanism, as follows:

"By the European tables of mortality of the adults living at any one moment of time, a majority will be dead in about nineteen years. At the end of that period, then, a new majority is come into place, or, in other words, a new generation. Each generation is as independent of the one preceding, as that was of all which had gone before. It has then, like them, a right to *choose for itself* the form of government it believes most promotive of its own happiness; consequently, to accommodate to the circumstances in which it finds itself, that received from its predecessors. . . . It is now (1816) forty years since the constitution of Virginia was formed. The same tables inform us that, within that period, two-thirds of the adults then living are now dead. Have then the remaining third, even if they had the wish, the right to hold in obedience to their will, and to laws heretofore made by them, the other two-thirds, who, with themselves, compose the present mass of adults? If they have not, who has? The dead? But the dead have no rights. They are nothing; and nothing cannot own something. Where there is no substance, there can be no accident. This corporeal globe, and everything upon it, belong to its present corporeal inhabitants, during their generation. They alone have a

right to direct what is the concern of themselves alone, and to declare the law of that direction; and this declaration can only be made by their majority."—Vol. vii. pp. 16, 17.

Secondly, Like every great and good man of his times, he was inexorably opposed to the system of African slavery. His keen philosophy and clear statesmanship impelled him to this, not less than his large sense of justice. It was to be expected of the author of the Declaration of Independence, notwithstanding that great instrument is denounced by the sophists of the present day as consisting of "sounding and glittering generalities." There was neither sound nor glitter about the great Virginia democrat; and he would have been ashamed to proclaim in general propositions what he could not support in special instances. The leading trait of his character, that which gave form and color to his life, was justice, and therefore his natural bent was to universal liberty. His great sense and practical logic revealed to him at a glance the sophisms upon which had rested the oppression of ages, and he attacked them fearlessly. If his successors had emulated his powerful and well-directed blows, we should not now be shaken by dissensions, and be compelled to rediscuss the doctrines that led to the American Revolution. His utterances upon the *questio vexata* of American politics were unhesitating and manly. They date from so early as 1769, when he was a member of the Colonial Legislature of Virginia, down to the hour of his death. In his Notes on Virginia, contained in Volume VIII of his Complete Works, on pages 403-4, he says:

"The whole commerce between master and slave is a perpetual exercise of the most boisterous passions, the most unremitting despotism on the one part, and degrading submissions on the other; our children see this, and learn to imitate it; for man is an imitative animal. This quality is the germ of all education in him. From his cradle to his grave he is learning to do what he sees others do. If a parent could find no motive either in his philanthropy or his self-love, for restraining the intemperance of passion towards his slave, it should always be a sufficient one that his child is present; but generally it is not sufficient. The parent storms, the child looks on, catches the lineaments of wrath, puts on the same airs in the circle of smaller slaves, gives a loose to the worst of passions, and thus nursed, educated, and daily exercised in tyranny, cannot but be stamped by it with odious peculiarities. The man must be a prodigy who can retain his manners and morals undepraved by such circumstances. And with what execration should the statesman be loaded, who, permitting one half the citizens thus to trample on the rights of the other, transforms those into despots, and these into enemies, destroys the morals of the one part, and the *amor patriæ* of the other. For if a slave can have a country in this world, it must be any other in preference to that in which he is born to live and labor for another; in which he must lock up the faculties of his nature, contribute, as far as depends upon his individual endeavors to the evanishment of the human race, or entail his own miserable condition on the endless generations proceeding from him. With the morals

of the people their industry also is destroyed; for in a warm climate no man will labor for himself who can make another labor for him. This is so true, that of the proprietors of slaves, a very small proportion indeed are ever seen to labor. And can the liberties of a nation be thought secure when we have removed their only firm basis, a conviction in the minds of the people that these liberties are the gift of God? That they are not to be violated but with his wrath? Indeed I tremble for my country when I reflect that God is just; that his justice cannot sleep forever; that considering numbers, nature, and natural means only, a revolution of the wheel of fortune, an exchange of situation is among possible events; that it may become probable by supernatural interference! The Almighty has no attribute which can take sides with us in such a contest."

He declares elsewhere, (Vol. II. p. 357 :)

"Nobody wishes more ardently to see an abolition, not only of the trade, but of the condition of slavery; and certainly nobody will be more willing to encounter every sacrifice for that object."

To show that this was no idle vaunt, but uttered in sincerity, we make one other quotation. In June, 1781, Lord Cornwallis, with a detachment of his army, made an incursion into the neighborhood of Monticello, for the purpose of awing the inhabitants, and, if possible, of seizing on the person of Mr. Jefferson. Failing in this last, he destroyed Mr. Jefferson's crops of corn and tobacco, burned his barns containing the crops of the previous year, consumed his cattle, sheep and hogs for the sustenance of the army, and carried off all the horses capable of service, cutting the throats of those not capable, and burning all the fences on his plantation, so as to leave it an absolute waste. Says Mr. Jefferson:

"He carried off, also, about thirty slaves. Had this been done to give them freedom, *he would have done RIGHT.*"—Vol. ii, p. 426.

Surely, there is no sound or glitter about that, and an absence of all generality. It is, on the contrary, special and practical. It sinks from the airy regions of philosophy to the solid domains of profit. He based his opposition to the great crime of an age upon the immutable principles of justice, block by block erected the stately fabric, pushing it heavenward with all the strength of his massive character, and shrunk from no opportunity of vindicating his precepts by practical examples. Believing in the universal brotherhood of man, he was too wise to deny that Africans are participants therein, without denying their humanity; unable to do this, he boldly asserted their inalienable right to freedom, and crowned his repeated assertions by directing his executors to emancipate such of his own slaves as he deemed capable of enjoying liberty. (Vol. ix., p. 514.) This last act rendered his life complete, It would have been brilliant, indeed, without this; but this was a proper finis to a book from the beginning so nobly written.

So far we have proceeded with a full love of our subject, as well as admiration; we wish we could continue so. But we now approach a point anything but agreeable to our pen, but which cannot be ignored if we are true to our vocation. His religious views, it must be confessed, were sadly tainted by the skepticism of the times. While minister to France he mingled freely with the "small philosophers"* of that day, and imperceptibly imbibed many of their sentiments. From their grossness of life he always continued free; but their ideas colored his opinions to the last. Undoubtedly his morals were pure and upright; no man could breathe aught of calumny against him. Unfortunate in endorsing for friends, he cheerfully sacrificed thousands of dollars rather than suffer the least imputation of dishonor. He was not an atheist, neither was he a disciple of Priestly; nor is it quite fair to rank him as an infidel. His confidential correspondence with John Adams, (then retired from the presidency, at Quincy, and perhaps less orthodox in his religious opinions than Jefferson,) running through the entire volumes before us, abundantly shows that he was a devout follower of what *he believed* to be the doctrines of Christianity. He believed the Scriptures greatly corrupted by interpolations and omissions, and therefore could not accept unreservedly the doctrines which the modern Church legitimately extracts from them. Yet he thought Jesus the most incomparable being that ever appeared on earth, greatly superior to Socrates or any other philosopher before or since; clipped from the New Testament what he believed to be the passages containing his words, pasted them on the leaves of a blank-book, and named this singular synopsis the Philosophy of Jesus.

"I have made a wee-little book, which I call the Philosophy of Jesus; it is a paradigma of his doctrines, made by cutting the texts out of the book, and arranging them in the pages of a blank book, in a certain order of time or subject. A more beautiful or precious morsel of ethics I have never seen; it is a document in proof that *I am a real Christian*, that is to say, a disciple of the doctrines of Jesus."—Vol. vi, p. 518.

Much as we may dissent from his views and lament his heresies, we must at least admire his sincerity. It is greatly to be regretted that his creed was not more orthodox; so great in most respects, and original in all, and filling so prominent a place in the early years of the Republic, his life and character are closely studied by most young men, their opinions yet unformed, and who are therefore greatly liable to be tainted by his pernicious sentiments, ere detecting their subtle poison. He was undoubtedly an earnest and honest inquirer after truth; he had read Confucius, the Vedas, the

* Cicero *De Senectute*, Cap. xxiii.

Koran, and was familiar with the doctrines of the Grecian and Roman schools; and we cannot resist the conviction, that if he had come to the study of the Scriptures with his usual vigor and thoroughness, he would have arrived at very different conclusions. But engaging in the exciting and absorbing affairs of a long political life, he neglected the investigations the importance of the subject demanded, and so failed in detecting its rich veins of gold. It is not for us to judge him: God forbid! Let it suffice, that we have not suppressed the truth, though its utterance be painful.

The best description of Mr. Jefferson's person, dress, and habits, that we have met with, is from the pen of Mr. Webster, written in the plain, untrammelled, and unpretending style of a private letter. In December, 1824, Mr. Webster, already a man of note, in company with four or five congressional friends, visited Mr. Jefferson at Monticello. On his return to Washington, at the request of some friends in Massachusetts, he committed his first impressions to writing for their perusal. We subjoin his remarks entirely from the third work at the head of this article.

"Mr. Jefferson is now between eighty-one and eighty-two, above six feet high, of an ample long frame, rather thin and spare. His head, which is not peculiar in its shape, is set rather forward on his shoulders; and his neck being long, there is, when he is walking or conversing, an habitual protrusion of it. It is still well covered with hair, which, having been once red, and now turning gray, is of an indistinct sandy color. His eyes are small, very light, and now neither brilliant nor striking. His chin is rather long, but not pointed. His nose small, regular in its outline, and the nostrils a little elevated. His mouth is well formed, and still filled with teeth; it is strongly compressed, bearing an expression of contentment and benevolence. His complexion, formerly light and freckled, now bears the marks of age and cutaneous affection. His limbs are uncommonly long, his hands and feet very large, and his wrists of an extraordinary size. His walk is not precise and military, but easy and swinging. He stoops not a little, not so much from age as from natural formation. When sitting he appears short, partly from rather a lounging habit of sitting, and partly from the disproportionate length of his limbs.

His dress when in the house is a gray surtout coat, kerseymere stuff waistcoat, with an under one faced with some material of a dingy red. His pantaloons were very large and loose, and of the same color as his coat. His stockings are woolen, either white or gray, and his shoes of the kind that bear his name. His whole dress is very much neglected, but not slovenly. He wears a common round hat. His dress, when on horseback, is a gray straight-bodied coat, and a spencer of the same material, both fastened with large pearl buttons. When we first saw him he was riding, and, in addition to the above articles of apparel, wore around his throat a knit white woolen tippet, in the place of a cravat, and black velvet gaiters under his pantaloons. His general appearance indicates an extraordinary degree of health, vivacity, and spirit. His sight is still good, for he needs glasses only in the evening. His hearing is generally good, but a number of voices in animated conversation confuses it.

"Mr. Jefferson rises in the morning as soon as he can see the hands of his clock, which is directly opposite his bed, and examines his thermometer immediately, as he keeps a regular meteorological diary. He employs himself

chiefly in writing till breakfast, which is at nine. From that time till dinner he is in his library, excepting that in fair weather he rides on horseback from seven to fourteen miles; dines at four, returns to the drawing-room at six, when coffee is brought in, and passes the evening till nine in conversation. His habit of retiring at that hour is so strong, that it has become essential to his health and comfort. His diet is simple, but he seems restrained only by his taste. His breakfast is tea and coffee, bread always fresh from the oven, of which he does not seem afraid, with sometimes a slight accompaniment of cold meat. He enjoys his dinner well, taking with his meat a large proportion of vegetables."—Vol. i., p. 364-5.

Such was Thomas Jefferson, and as such he passed to his account on the fourth of July, 1826, a day of all others the most fitting for his departure. He was one of those strong, vigorous, and uncompromising characters, in which our Revolutionary times abounded, and albeit he erred, we yet do well to reverence him. Perhaps no statesman of our history has enjoyed so wide a reputation abroad, and none, surely, has had so extensive an influence upon our domestic and foreign policy. He numbered among his correspondents the most learned men of both continents, and a political party professing his principles, however it has practiced them, has chiefly borne rule since his elevation to the presidency. The people have always regarded him as the great apostle of democracy, as he undoubtedly was, and as such his place hereafter in history is indisputably secure.

"He is Freedom's now and Fame's,
One of the few immortal names
That were not born to die."

We award him great praise for his scientific as well as political achievements; we rejoice to claim him as a fellow countryman; and while we regret, deeply regret his errors, we commend him to our young men as an example well worthy of their best emulation. Informed of his errors, may they cultivate his graces, equal his virtues, and become the Jeffersons improved of their day and generation.

ART. V.—UNITAS FRATRUM—THE MORAVIANS.

THE Church of the United Brethren claims an original descent from the Slavonian branch of the Greek Church, which received the Gospel through the direct agency of the apostles and their contemporaries. St. Paul, during his missionary labors, visited Illyricum, on the borders of Italy, (Rom. xv, 19,) and he mentions Titus as having proceeded, for the same purpose, into Dalmatia, (2 Tim. iv, x.)

Both of these regions were Slavonian provinces, and many gladly received the Gospel. But civil commotions arising at this early period, a cruel persecution against these reformers followed; many were punished with death, or imprisonment and exile. But God appeared to their succor and comfort. The bloody persecution of the Waldenses in France and Italy, led to their emigration by great numbers into Bohemia, and about 1176, they formed a union with the Christian Bohemians and Moravians. This religious connection introduced a purer and more Scriptural form of worship among them.

About the middle of the fourteenth century Pope Clement VI., aided by Charles IV., the Emperor of Germany and Bohemia, endeavored to reduce the Bohemian and Moravian Churches to the see of Rome. One of the chief means to accomplish this design was the establishment of the University at Prague. On the 6th of July, 1373, was born that early reformer and martyr, John Huss, in a small town of Bohemia, and amidst poverty. Still he entered the new university, accompanied by his pious mother, who, with prayers and tears, recommended her child to the notice of the rector. Devoting much time to the study of the sacred Scriptures, with the Greek and Latin Fathers, the young student made rapid progress in his learning; he became tutor in his twentieth year, and soon Professor of Divinity in the University. In 1409 he was chosen its Rector, six years before his martyrdom.

The Moravian was soon declared a heretic, excommunicated, and by a papal interdict all religious worship suspended in the city of Prague. Huss was tried and doomed to the flames as a heretic the next year. His books were burned before his face, and this early reformer ascended from the stake, singing, in a chariot of fire, to his reward in heaven.

The Moravian, Bohemian, or Hussite Church now had many divisions in regard to doctrines and religious ceremonies, but in 1460 they finally settled all their differences and adopted the name of "*Fratres Legis Christi*," *Brethren of the Law of Christ*; but it was soon exchanged for the more simple appellation of "*Fratres*"—*Brethren*. In after years, when their number had greatly increased, they assumed the name of "*Unitas Fratrum*," the *Unity of Brethren*. They were the first to give the Bible in the living tongue, having printed it in 1470, at Venice, and issued three editions of its sacred pages before the commencement of Luther's Reformation.

Some eighty-five miles from the city of Prague, near the confines of Bohemia and Silesia, along the foot of the mountains, stretched the domain of Lititz, and there, amid the shadows of feudal towers

and deep recesses, was founded the Moravian Church. At that period Michael Bradacius resided in the barony of Lititz. He was an evangelical priest, and preached the Gospel in its purity. The Moravians of Prague hearing of him, were moved in the spirit to visit the man of God, and soon a number of the Brethren sought his retreat in 1453. Strong in the faith, and bold for their Master, they turned their backs upon the city and its corruptions, and sought homes and religious freedom amid the mountains and forests. There a solemn convocation was called. This was in 1457, just four hundred years ago, and here they prayed and deliberated until their hearts were impressed with the belief that it was a duty to separate from the established and corrupt Churches of Bohemia and Moravia. They avowed themselves the followers or disciples of John Huss; their only rule of faith, practice, and discipline, the New Testament; and adopting as their model the ancient apostolical Church, they organized a communion of their own.

Michael Bradacius was chosen minister, and at subsequent convocations Gregory, Procopius, and Clenovicus, were elected elders. This is the history of the founding of the Moravian Church, four centuries since, and a regular ministry, established by ordination from a Waldensian Church, on the confines of Austria. The Waldenses have existed a long period, as a distinct body of Christians, tracing the succession of their bishops from the apostolic times. Three of the Brethren, already in priest's orders, were sent to the Waldensian bishop, Stephen, who readily ordained them bishops of the Brethren's Church. Michael Bradacius is the only one of the three whose name has been handed down to posterity. A synod was soon convoked, other presbyters were ordained, and one of them, Mathias, of Kunewolde, consecrated a bishop.

To prevent the pomp of hierarchical power, and the abuse made of the name of bishop in the Romish Church, the Moravians called their bishops *Seniors*, or *Elders*. The first four were aided in their solemn and arduous duties by ten *con-seniors*, or co-bishops, elected from the presbyters.

When it became known that the Moravians had secured an ecclesiastical constitution, severe edicts were issued against them. Michael, their first bishop, was placed in close confinement for several years, and all the prisons in Bohemia were soon crowded, and the Brethren were banished from Moravia and driven into distant lands. The more Rome opposed, however, the more *Unitas Fratrum* increased, until in the commencement of the sixteenth century, there were not less than two hundred Churches in Bohemia and Moravia, embracing all ranks of life, from the humble peasant to the ancient

nobles. There were provincial bishops in Bohemia, Moravia, and Poland, and all united in general conventions. Particular attention was devoted to education, and the Brethren had several seminaries of learning.

They were the first to give the BIBLE in any living European language, having printed it in 1470, at Venice: afterward they established no less than three presses, one in Moravia, and two in Bohemia, and for several years nothing was issued except Bohemian Bibles. These were the blessed fruits of righteousness.

At length Ferdinand II. swayed the sceptre of the Austrian empire, to which Bohemia and Moravia now belonged. He was a religious bigot, and had solemnly sworn to extirpate heresy from his dominions. He expelled all Protestants from Bohemia, but mostly in a bloodless way, the Jesuits being his emissaries and champions. "Abjure evangelical faith, or leave the country," was the royal principle and mandate. A dark day followed, and toward the end of the seventeenth century "the Moravian Zion" no longer existed as a separate one; still it was not dead, but a living hidden seed in the hearts of the faithful.

Amos Comenius was the venerable bishop who formed the connecting link between the ancient and the renewed Churches. Wandering with his broken flock into exile, he had reached the top of the lofty mountain chain separating Moravia from Siberia. Here the aged minister of God paused to cast a farewell look upon that native land which he so dearly loved. Long did he gaze, and falling upon his knees, he beseeched the God of his fathers to preserve the good seed in those former homes of religion and truth, and to cause a new tree to grow up from it. After many years spent in exile, Comenius felt his end drawing near, and consecrated, as a last pious act, *another bishop*, so that the episcopal succession might not become extinct. A living Church thus continued to exist, amid a long night of intellectual and spiritual darkness, which neither the craft nor violence of men was permitted to destroy.

In 1522 the Moravian Brethren deputed John Horn and Michael Weiss to visit Luther, the German preacher, with the sincere congratulations of their whole brotherhood; and in 1536 they transmitted to him their Confession of Faith. With this document he was so well pleased as to have it printed at Wittemberg, with a commendatory preface.

Luther died in 1646, and Charles V., the same year, commenced a war against the Protestants. The oldest Moravian bishop, *John Augusta* was imprisoned, fed on bread and water, scourged, and put to the rack. *George Israel*, his successor in the episcopacy,

experienced similar hard and cruel usage. Many churches were now shut up and their ministers banished. Conducted by their bishop, Mathias Lyon, a numerous body emigrated to Poland, and thence to Prussia; and in the short space of six years not less than forty congregations were collected in Great Poland, mostly by Bishop George Israel. Synods were held, at one of which a new version of the Bible in Bohemian, from the originals, was ordered; and students of divinity sent to the Universities of Wittenberg and Basle, to perfect themselves in Hebrew and Greek for the work of translating. A printing-office was established at the Castle of Kralitz, the translators spending fourteen years in completing their important task.

Next succeeded the "Thirty Years War," as it is called, from 1618 to 1648, during which the Moravian Brethren were almost exterminated, and many of their leading men beheaded. All the Protestant Churches and schools throughout Bohemia and Moravia were closed forever. Minions of the pope searched for every copy of the Bible, and, with all Protestant books, they were committed to the flames. The sacred utensils of God's house shared the same fate.

Many persons of rank in the Brethren's Church were executed, and among them *Wenceslaus*, of Budowa. He was seventy-four years old, a man of learning, and had held high offices under the Emperor Rudolph. Jesuits and Capuchin monks vainly strove for his recantation. Placing his hand on the word of God, he said, with a smile, "This paradise has never offered me sweeter fruits than it does at this moment." Upon the scaffold the venerable minister uncovered his white locks, and said: "Behold my gray hairs; what honor is conferred upon them, to be encircled with a martyr's crown." *Baron Von Kopplick* had also honorably served the state. He was almost ninety, and when ordered to execution exclaimed: "In the name of God I am ready. I have waited long enough;" and while adding, "Lord Jesus, into thy hands I commit my spirit," his aged head was severed from his body by one blow. Such was the holy fortitude which manifested the faith and hope of the Moravian confessors, by joyfully laying down their lives for a pure Gospel. Rome, sanguinary Rome, thus tyrannizes over the consciences of men. Whole countries were depopulated by the rage of her cruel hierarchy, and this work of destruction in Bohemia and Moravia, did not cease for a long period.

Crantz, in his Brethren's history, states that not less than thirty thousand persons, about 1730, left Saltzburg for conscience' sake.

Our rapid sketch, thus far, has been confined to what may be called the *Ancient Brethren's Church*,

That Church through ages past,
Assail'd and rent by persecution's blast,
Whose sons no yoke could crush, no burden tire,
Unaw'd by dungeons, tortures, sword, or fire.

o o o o o o o o

That Church, which Satan's legions thought destroy'd,
Her name extinct, her place forever void,
Alive once more. — MONTGOMERY.

We now come to the "Unitas Fratrum" of more modern times. *Christian David* was the principal mover and the soul of the refugees. Born at a little village of Moravia, in 1690, he was early employed in tending sheep, and afterward learned the carpenter's trade. A bigoted Roman Catholic, to use his own words, "in the performance of his devotions he crept on his knees around the images of the blessed Virgin, till his whole body burned like an oven." At twenty he had never seen a Bible; but now hearing that it was the word of God, his desire to obtain a copy was intense. At length he procured the sacred volume, when it became his favorite book; and renouncing the errors of Popery, he joined the Lutherans in Berlin. Next he enlisted in the army, and discharged from the service, he married and settled at Upper Lausatia in 1717. David made several fruitless attempts to find an asylum for his oppressed countrymen, but was directed, providentially, at last, to *Count Zinzendorf*, who promised to receive them on his estate of Bethelsdorf, near Gerlitz.

In 1722 Christian David carried to Moravia the joyful news of Zinzendorf's offer. A single family at first migrated, Christian David conducting the pilgrims across the mountains and unknown paths to the frontiers of Silesia. The refugees selected a dreary wilderness, covered with bushes, forest-trees, and swamps, for their future home. David, full of courage and faith, striking his axe into a tree, exclaimed with the Psalmist, "Here the sparrow hath found a house, and the swallow a nest for herself, where she may lay her young; even thine altars, O Lord of hosts, my King and my God."

On the 17th of June, 1722, the first tree was felled, and the building of Herrnhut commenced. This term signifies, *the watch of the Lord*, or *the object of the Lord's protection*. And Christian David observed: "You who dwell here must watch day and night, and see to it that the work of grace here begun be uninterruptedly continued." This is considered by the Brethren as the beginning of their *Renewed Church*. Other immigrants arrived

from Moravia and Saxony, and in a few years they numbered hundreds. The principles and discipline of their fathers were introduced. The episcopate continued, and their Church organization completed, which still exists with the Moravians throughout the world.

Count Zinzendorf was a very extraordinary man, a nobleman of high rank and education, with an enlarged mind and generous heart. Born at Dresden, May 27, 1700, he was sent to the academy at Halle, and grew in piety as he advanced in learning, under the tuition of the celebrated Professor Franke. With a select number of pious youths, he formed an order, called, "The Order of the Grain of Mustard-Seed," and this fact seemed to foreshadow the spirit of the man. The rules of the order were, that its members should steadfastly maintain the doctrine of Jesus, and walk worthily of it; exercise charity towards their neighbors, and more especially endeavor to promote the conversion of Jews and heathen. After six years preparation at Halle, the count entered the University of Wittenberg, where he finished his collegiate course in two years. Then he accepted a situation in the government of Saxony.

At first Zinzendorf befriended the refugees, hoping that their pious example would benefit his other tenants. In 1732 he resigned the regency of Saxony, with all expectation of riches and worldly honors, resolving to consecrate his time, talents, and influence, to the service of God and the advancement of his kingdom. He now became so intimately connected with the Moravian Brethren, that his history is a prominent part of theirs.

In 1724 a large building was erected at Herrnhut, for the education of young noblemen, and a printing-office to publish the BIBLE, with other religious books, at a cheap rate. This institution was afterward changed into an orphan-house for poor children, and the printing-office transferred to Ebersdorf, where it was usefully employed for several years.

More fully to promote true godliness among themselves, and to preserve the unity of the Spirit, in 1727 the *Statutes of the Congregation* were unanimously adopted, and *twelve elders* soon after appointed. They were not properly clerical, and four of the number consecrated, chief of elders, were confirmed by lot. George Nitschman, the oldest person in the settlement, was one. Count Zinzendorf was chosen *Warden*, and acted as *Guardian* or *Patron*, and the stated meetings of the elders were called the *Elders' Conference*. The *Congregational Council* was a more numerous convention, and consisted of the elders, the heads of families, subordin-

ate officers, with some brethren chosen by lot. This formed the *Representative Assembly* of the whole congregation.

Peace, unity, and concord followed these important transactions of the infant Church, and the celebration of the Lord's Supper sealed the whole work so happily begun. That event is regarded as the *birthday of the Renewed Brethren's Church*. On the previous Sunday, August 10, 1727, a gracious and unusual religious influence had animated the congregation at Herrnhut, continuing together in prayer, the singing of hymns, and spiritual discourses, until late at night. The public celebration of the Saviour's death took place on the following Wednesday. Crantz, referring to the auspicious occasion, writes: "On the 12th of May (1727) the dry bones were collected, and by means of various useful regulations were, in the following days, covered with sinews and skin; and on the 13th of August the Spirit of the Lord breathing upon them, infused the vital principle, and prepared them for active service in the kingdom of God, among Christians and heathen."

The children also experienced the gracious influences of that moment, which the Brethren since have commemorated as the *Children's Festival*, August 17th. At Herrnhut, the congregation, both aged and young, paid the strictest attention to the duty of *prayer*, and to keep alive the spirit of supplication, they established what was called *hourly intercession*. Some seventy members formed a plan by which the twenty-four hours of the whole day were divided in such a manner, that two or more of their number were every hour engaged in thanksgiving and prayer. They were called *Intercessors*, and were at liberty to occupy the appointed time in singing, pious meditations, or other acts of devotion. They also held a weekly meeting, at which they became better acquainted with the circumstances of the congregation, the Christian Church, and the unbelieving world.

In the Bohemian-Moravian Church the line of bishops had terminated with Amos Comenius, but the succession was still continued in the Polish branch, of which two bishops were still living. These were Daniel E. Jablonsky, at Berlin, chaplain to the King of Prussia, and Christian Sitkovius, residing at Lisza, in Poland, David Nitschman, one of the three brothers who came to Herrnhut in 1724, was consecrated by Jablonsky, at Berlin, on the 13th of March, 1735, the first bishop of the Renewed Church of the Brethren. He had accompanied the earliest missionary to St. Thomas, West Indies, and after a very useful and laborious Christian life, died, in 1772, at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, where he was buried.

After mature reflection, the Brethren resolved, with great unan-

imity, "to receive the Doctrinal Articles of the Augustan Confession, as they were read on the 25th of June, 1530, in the German language, before the electors, princes, and deputies of cities, and delivered to his Imperial Majesty, Charles V., because they are accordant with the Holy Scriptures." This celebrated Confession, it is well known, agrees with the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England, in every consistent doctrine of Christianity.

Count Zinzendorf had long thought of resigning his regency at Dresden, and devoting himself entirely to the Church; and in December, 1734, he was formally recognized as a minister of the Gospel, by the theological faculty of the University of Tubingen. In 1736 Frederic William, King of Prussia, invited him to an audience, and upon the recommendation of his majesty, Zinzendorf, the following May, was consecrated a bishop of the Brethren's Church, by the venerable Jablonsky. The king, on the following day, sent a letter of congratulation to him, and among other similar marks of esteem, was one from Dr. Potter, Archbishop of Canterbury, England.

Zinzendorf, banished at one time from Saxony, for his religion, was providentially led into Wetteravia, taking up his residence in an old castle near Marienborn. It was a very desolate, poor spot, occupied by Jews and Sectarians. Christian David remarked, "We cannot remain here." Zinzendorf replied, "Christian, have you been in Greenland?" "Yes," was the reply; "but were this spot only like Greenland! Here we must perish, because it is much worse!"

In 1737 the Count was permitted to return to Herrnhut, but left again in a few months, concessions being required which he could not conscientiously make. Then he purchased lands near Budingen, and a settlement of the Brethren was made upon it, called Herrnbuog, and in a few years it numbered more citizens than Herrnhut.

Another settlement of the Brethren was also attempted at Pilgenut, in Holstein, whence missionaries might depart for their distant fields of labor. But the Danish government required the inhabitants gradually to renounce all connection with Zinzendorf, and hence they deserted the place, after a short residence of four years.

In 1736, at Marienborn, the first synod of the Renewed Church of the Brethren was convened; and one was held every four years afterward. Synodal conferences assembled more frequently, and Leonard Dober had filled the office of general elder since 1735, but resigned it in 1740. Finding it difficult to select a successor, this office was

abolished, and the brethren resolved to apply for direction to the Lord himself, by the use of the *lot*, in all cases of Church government, where the Scripture and Divine Providence did not furnish a clear rule of action. This alteration in their Church polity took place on the 13th of November, and this day continues to be commemorated annually by proper religious services.

In 1731 the Brethren commenced "The Text-Book of the Protestant Church of the United Brethren," and its publication has been continued regularly ever since. The selection is made by the elders' conference, and contains texts from the Scriptures for each day in the year. Such a publication, they found, had much influence in keeping alive the spirit of zeal and devotion. At this period the Brethren's Church were distinguished for their exertions to extend the kingdom of the world's Redeemer. Moravian settlements were established in Germany, Prussia, and England. In the spring of 1734 a company of the Brethren sailed for Georgia, to preach the Gospel among the Indians. They were sixteen in number. Another company of twenty-six Moravian settlers reached there in 1736, accompanied by Mr. Nitschman, one of their bishops. The Messrs. Wesley, Ingham, and Delamotte, were also passengers. On this voyage the English Methodists beheld Christianity in a more gentle, attractive, and consoling light than they had ever seen it before. Even insults were borne with meekness by these devout exiles; they were ever ready to render the humblest services to their fellow passengers; and amid threatening storms and gales, while others were fearing shipwreck and death, the Moravian Brethren calmly sang the praises of God. With the happy religious experience of these Christians, the Wesleys were at that time personally unacquainted. Neither of them was delivered from the fear of death; theirs was a religion of mortification and good works, rather than of holy peace and joy, produced by the abiding operation and witness of the heavenly Comforter, God's Holy Spirit.

Mr. Wesley served the colony as a minister only a year and nine months, still his mission to Georgia was of the greatest importance to himself. Although he failed in the especial object of his missionary efforts, his intercourse with the Moravian Brethren greatly aided him to discover the true nature of Christianity. On his arrival he sought the advice, relative to his own conduct, of Mr. Spangenberg, one of their venerable pastors. The man of God inquired: "My brother, I must first ask you one or two questions. Have you the witness within yourself? Does the Spirit of God witness with your spirit that you are a child of God?" Mr. Wesley, referring to this interview, remarks: "I was surprised, and

knew not what to answer. He observed it and asked: 'Do you know Jesus Christ?' I paused and said, 'I know he is the Saviour of the world.' 'True,' replied he, 'but do you know he has saved you?' I answered, 'I hope he has died to save me.' He only added, 'Do you know yourself?' I said, 'I do;' but I fear they were vain words."

Mr. Wesley even made a temporary residence in the house of this devout people, all living in the same room. "They were always employed," he says: "always cheerful themselves, and in good humor with one another; they had put away all anger and strife, and wrath, and bitterness, and clamour, and evil speaking." What a beautiful picture of simple, true, evangelical Christianity.

In 1738, Peter Boehler, a learned Moravian minister, reached England, on his way to Carolina, and Mr. Wesley embraced an opportunity of conversing with him. The founder of Methodism appears to have derived more evangelical light from this pious stranger than from any other man. They met at Oxford, and the Moravian said to Mr. Wesley, "My brother, my brother, that philosophy of yours must be purged away!" In a few days he was clearly convinced of unbelief, in his own words, "of the want of that faith whereby alone we are saved; and it immediately struck into my mind," he adds: "'Leave off preaching; how can you preach to others who have not faith yourself.' I asked Boehler whether he thought I should leave off or not. He answered, 'By no means.' I asked, 'But what can I preach?' He said, 'Preach faith till you have it; and then because you have it, you will preach faith.'"

Mr. Wesley took his cheering advice, and the first person to whom he preached the new doctrine of salvation by faith alone, was a prisoner under sentence of death, by the name of Clifford. Charles Wesley became much offended with the doctrine of free and present salvation from sin, by faith in the Saviour; but directing his prayerful attention to the subject, he was soon led to adopt it with his brother and the devout German. Charles Wesley was ill at the time, and his brother, with some friends, having spent the night in solemn prayer for the afflicted minister, one of them said, "Believe in the name of Jesus of Nazareth, thou shalt be healed of all thine infirmities." These cheering words reached his heart, and while reading some passages of Scripture, he was enabled to trust in Christ, through faith in his atoning blood, and he received that joy, and peace, and rest, which he had vainly sought.

Three days afterward Mr. John Wesley obtained the same blessing. At a society meeting he writes: "While he was describing the change which God works in the heart, through faith in Christ,

I felt my heart strangely warmed; I felt I did trust in Christ, Christ alone, for salvation; and an assurance was given me that he had taken away *my* sins, even *mine*, and saved *me* from the law of sin and death."

Now the two brothers were new, regenerated men. Having obtained the abiding witness of the pardoning mercy of God which they had so long unsuccessfully endeavored to seek by works of righteousness and the law, they longed to make known the great salvation thus attainable by all who earnestly seek it. Wherever they went they preached this truth, and that most extraordinary revival of primitive faith and piety followed their pious labors, and a reformation which has now spread so "sweet a savour of Christ" through so large a portion of our world.

Before he left Georgia Mr. John Wesley resolved to visit Herrnhut, and on his arrival was deeply impressed with the order and discipline of the Moravian Church, but still more did he delight in the religious discourses and experience of the Brethren. He was greatly confirmed in those views of the truth which he had received, and was preparing to preach with a publicity and effect unexampled since the apostolic days. Returning from Germany, he commenced immediately, with great diligence, to preach repentance for sin, penitential sorrow, justification by faith, with the joy, peace, and holiness which followed it.

In 1738, under the advice and encouragement of Peter Boehler, Mr. Wesley commenced, in London, his third Methodist society. The first was at Oxford, from 1729 to 1736; the second in Savannah, and discontinued when he returned to England. This last society met at Fetter-Lane, in connection with the Moravian Brethren; but in 1740 a separation took place, the father of Methodism selecting the Foundry for a place of worship, and the Moravians returning to their original house in Fetter-Lane, London. Identified as the Wesleys and the earliest Methodism were with the Moravian Brethren, this reference to them must not be thought foreign to our subject.

The Moravians did not long confine their Christian labors to the metropolis of Great Britain. In the short space of six years they occupied no less than sixteen chapels in Ireland, besides preaching at forty other places. Upon the European continent they visited almost every Protestant kingdom, forming religious settlements in Holland and Denmark, and visiting Norway, Sweden, and Prussia for the same pious purpose. Their missionaries went to Greenland, South Africa, and the West Indies, with the glad news of salvation.

The Moravians left Georgia in 1740, and Whitefield, having purchased land in Pennsylvania, he invited them there to build a large schoolhouse for the instruction of the negroes. Readily accepting the invitation, the tract was called *Nazareth*, and in a few years they purchased it. Zinzendorf joined them in the next year, with a number of his followers, when Bethlehem was commenced in 1741, and this has ever since been the *Hernhutt* of America. Ten years afterward a large tract was purchased in North Carolina, and named *Wachovia*. It was then a dense forest, and its first colony called *Bethabara*. Then soon followed more at *Bethany* and *Salem*. Congregations were formed in New-York, Philadelphia, Lancaster, Newport, on Staten Island, and other places, while a number of missionary stations extended themselves among the Indians.

In 1755 Count Zinzendorf took up his final abode at *Bethelsdorf*, continuing his active labors, but with impaired health. Early on the morning of May 9, 1760, he sent for his family, and, unable to speak, he raised himself in the bed, looking upon them with a countenance filled with affection and peace, then reclining his head and closing his eyes, he gently fell asleep in his Saviour. He was sixty years old, and was buried at *Hernhutt*, crowds of people flocking there to share the last honors shown to this remarkable and pious man. Thus he lived and died, raised up by the Almighty, with peculiar talents for the great work which he had allotted him. He was the instrument in the hand of God to elevate the Brethren's Church from its ruins, and inspire its members with fresh zeal for the glory of the Lord and the advancement of his kingdom in the earth.

Upon the restoration of peace, after the Revolution, provincial conferences were organized at Bethlehem, and Salem, North Carolina. Bishop Spangenberg died in 1792, at the advanced age of eighty-eight. He had conducted the earliest company of Brethren to North America, in 1735, and for many years superintended these establishments. He spent a very laborious life, and was distinguished for faith in his Saviour, and fervent love and zeal to him, which traits shone with undiminished luster to the close of his pilgrimage.

The Indian tribes of North America presented a wide field of extensive usefulness to the Moravian Brethren, and here they early commenced their missionary efforts. We have noticed their visit to Georgia in 1734, but the war between Great Britain and Spain compelled them to abandon that mission in 1739. Bethlehem became the next center of their religious operations. Congress

granted to them twelve thousand acres of land in Ohio, on the Muskingum River, which they endeavored to render available for the Indian missions. To these were also added another tract in Erie County, by the Legislature of Pennsylvania, in 1791. The Gospel of the Redeemer was thus carried to these poor wandering children of the forest, not only in word but in power. Successful missions were established on the Lehigh, the Susquehanna, and the Muskingum.

Commencing with these missions in 1740, the records of the Brethren for one hundred years show that from thirteen hundred to fourteen hundred children were baptized in the Christian faith. Such were among the blessed results which followed the missionary trials and exertions of Ziesberger, Heckewelder, Senseman, Youngman, Edwards, and Young. Ziesberger was the foremost, and died in 1808, at Goshen, a missionary settlement in Canada. He reached the advanced age of eighty-seven years and seven months. Totally blind, his last illness was short, and the lamp of a long life burned mildly away. The only thing that troubled him, he said, "was the present spiritual state of his Indian people." The Indians around his dying couch replied, "My father, forgive us all we have done to grieve you. We will surrender our hearts to our Saviour, and live alone for him in the world." Blessing them fervently, the venerable man of God continued: "I am going, my people, to rest from all my labors, and be at home with the Lord." When he ceased to breathe the whole party knelt down and prayed. No other man, probably, was better acquainted with the manners, usages, and minds of the Indian tribes, than Zeisberger. His usefulness among them was very great. Had he sought power and honor for himself, his influence with the Iroquois and Delawares would have obtained it; but his only glory was that of his blessed Redeemer.

The Moravian is emphatically a Missionary Church. On every continent, and in lands whose existence was not imagined four centuries ago, the Churches of the Moravian Unity are now joining in thanksgiving and praise to God our Saviour. Numbering only about twenty thousand members at this time, they have three hundred missionaries in foreign lands, about seventy stations, and over seventy-one thousand converts. These are scattered through the West Indies, Central and South America, Greenland, Labrador, Great Britain, the continent of Europe, Russia, the confines of China, and South Africa. In our own country they have religious establishments in New-York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, North Carolina, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois.

The Home Mission on the continent of Europe is called the

"*Diospora*," and is one of the most interesting religious works of modern Church history. Persons belonging to the *Diospora* do not separate from the established Churches of the land, but are visited at stated times by a Moravian missionary, who goes from house to house for prayer and the exposition of the Scriptures. The grand object of this noble and holy work is to increase the number of living members of Christ's universal Church. This is literally the realization of Spencer's favorite idea of *ecclesiola in ecclesia*. The *Diospora* now extended over Saxony, Prussia, Hanover, Brunswick, East Friesland, the cities of Bremen and Hamburg, Wurtemberg, Switzerland, France, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, and Prussia. In this last empire, the work is very extensive, the province of Livonia alone numbering two hundred and thirty-two chapels or meeting-houses, with forty thousand members. According to the latest returns, one hundred and twenty-two missionaries belong to the *Diospora*. The term itself is Greek, and taken from the original, *διασποράς*, (1 Pet. i, 1,) beautifully referring to strangers, all truly religious people.

The *Unitas Fratrum*, or Moravians, has now existed four hundred years, and the little seed planted as early as 1457, in Bohemia and Moravia, to human appearance, was destroyed in the seventeenth century; but replanted in 1722, it has become a great tree whose life-imparting branches now extend to both continents of our globe, and many of their islands. This little Zion stands forth among the militant Churches of the earth like another David, "strong in the Lord, and in the power of his might;" and in the fierce contest going on in the earth between light and darkness, she has triumphed mightily over Satan and the world.

ART. VI.—STEVENS'S HISTORY OF METHODISM.

The History of the Religious Movement of the Eighteenth Century, called Methodism, considered in its different Denominational Forms, and its Relations to British and American Protestantism. By ABEL STEVENS, LL. D. Vol. I, from the Origin of Methodism to the Death of Whitefield. 12mo., pp. 480. New York: Carlton & Porter. London: Alexander Heylin, 28 Paternoster Row.

THIS is an admirable book. It equally befits the subject, the author and the occasion. Numerous works on Methodism, in the form of histories, annals, memoirs, and the like have been written, each of which had its excellence and its use. They were intended for the most part for the Methodist community, and were rather esoteric

than exoteric in their character. They unfolded the system as seen from within, and were little calculated to exert much influence on those beyond her pale. They were well for their times.

But the state of things has now materially changed. Methodism occupies a very different position in the world from what it formerly did, commands a wider influence, and is exciting the attention of a large circle of intelligent, inquiring minds. It is time that its history were written from a different stand-point, and presented in its true aspects, not only as to what it is in itself, but also as to its relation to Christendom, and especially to the Protestantism of Great Britain and the United States. This work Dr. Stevens has performed most successfully in the volume before us, so far as he has gone, and we shall look with great solicitude for the completion of his task in the succeeding volumes.

The deficiency of previous histories of Methodism arose partly from the subject and its adjuncts, and partly from the character of the authors. Those that were true to the system did not view it as it appears in the present day. They were, of necessity, somewhat timid. They wrote, like Watson, too apologetically, and thus lost the vantage ground that we occupy. Those, on the contrary, that were intended for general readers, while they contain many valuable facts and much truth, are pervaded by a secret and not very well disguised hostility to the system. Take as an illustration Southey's *Life of Wesley*. While in many things it does ample justice to his character and the effect of his labors, it betrays a total lack of appreciation or even comprehension of the spiritual nature of his mission. On the other hand, Isaac Taylor, while he does seem to comprehend and appreciate the spiritual aspects of early Wesleyanism, still utterly fails to do justice to its present position and its future prospects. From both or either one sees that Wesley was a man of uncommon endowments, raised up for an extraordinary work; yet in neither nor in both does his full portrait stand before you in its genuine lineaments; while the Methodism of both, especially that of Southey, is little better than a caricature. At Isaac Taylor, too, one is sometimes amused, sometimes provoked, with his self-satisfied air of superiority, as though he looked down from his assumed supereminence with a sort of disdain on the man he condescends to patronize. Such superciliousness is fatal to the character and claims of a spiritual teacher, and should of itself throw strong doubt over his capacity to present a character like that of Wesley in its true aspects.

The work now before us is everything that one could desire. It is true to the system: it looks at it from the proper point of view;

and is equally adapted to those within its pale and those without. It is at once comprehensive, philosophic, liberal, and yet popular. The author shows wonderful ability to present a full and complete history, containing all the essential facts in the lives of his prominent personages, and in the organization of the system, in a clear, condensed, and entertaining manner. He says nothing too much, nor leaves anything unsaid that is essential to his design, while he carries one along through minute incidents, including various statistics, with a life and vivacity that does not allow you a moment to be weary. He combines the fullness of Macaulay without his mannerism, and the vivacity of D'Aubigne with more reliability. A few only of his salient points we shall be able to touch in this review.

Intending to consider Methodism in its most comprehensive relations, Dr. Stevens starts with noticing the organic form of the primitive Church. After glancing briefly at its early corruptions, and its utter degradation under the Papacy, and then at its reformation under Luther, he dwells at some length on the moral condition of Europe, especially of England in the last century. He here exhibits that rare talent of rapid, comprehensive, and condensed statement to which we have before alluded. A new religious movement was absolutely necessary to restore the forfeited power of a vital Christianity, and a fitting instrument was selected and qualified for this great end, in the Rev. John Wesley.

The father of John Wesley, the Rev. Samuel Wesley, was a man of striking peculiarities. He was of an ancient and respectable family, and seems to have inherited the best family traits, with, however, a mixture of sternness and self-will, that, when rightly directed, constitute honest and sturdy independence, but which, carried too far, or not well regulated, become harshness and obstinacy. He was a man of great learning, talents, piety, and strict conscientiousness, and, like other members of the Wesley family, was endowed with no small share of poetical ability. But the mother of the Wesleys was the bright gem of the family. In every sense she was an extraordinary woman. She was "nobly related," says our author, "being the daughter of Dr. Samuel Annesley, who was the son of a brother of the Earl of Anglesea." She was a beautiful and an accomplished woman, and in her air and mien bore the marks of her high descent. She possessed uncommon talent, sound judgment, deep piety, and a noble and independent character. Her whole life is a wonder: highly educated, well read in history, poetry, and philosophy, keeping up with the literature of the day; the mother of thirteen children, ten of whom attained to maturity,

whom she educated herself, the daughters entirely, and the sons till they were old enough to go to a public school; the wife of a clergyman, and sharing his trials and responsibility, this noble woman, so limited was their income, was often unable to procure comfortable clothing, and actually suffered in health for the want of it. So there was "plain living combined with high thinking." If the family had not a superfluity of apparel they had an amplitude of books, and their reading was evidently choice and varied. References are made by the different members of the family, male and female, with the air of familiar acquaintance, not only to such writers as Baxter, Law, and Pascal, but also to Milton and Cowley, Waller and Dean Swift; Butler's *Hudibras* is also mentioned by them. So they went "from grave to gay, from lively to severe." Of the daughters we have not room to speak. In beauty, talents, and education they resembled their mother, but were all singularly unfortunate in married life. They themselves illustrated the sentiments in a part of the stanzas written by Miss Emilia Wesley, the second daughter:

" And that peculiar talent let me show
Which Providence divine doth oft bestow,
On spirits that are high, with fortunes that are low."

For the particulars we must refer to the work itself. The oldest son, the Rev. Samuel Wesley was a man of superior mind and an excellent scholar, and if he did not attain to the height of his ambition as principal of Westminster School, he enjoyed a like honorable post at the Grammar School of Tiverton, in Devonshire. He was a poet of no mean order, and wrote some of the noblest hymns in the Wesleyan Collection.

John Wesley was the tenth of this family of children who attained to maturity. A singular providence seems to have been over him. Saved most marvelously from death by fire in the burning rectory, he had almost as great an escape as his brother Charles had from being adopted by an honorable and wealthy gentleman, Mr. Garret Wesley, of Ireland, whose heir, adopted in Charles's place, became Earl of Mornington, and was grandfather to the Duke of Wellington. But God had in store for them a higher purpose and greater honor than to wear an earthly coronet. But we cannot pretend to follow our author through the history of Wesley's early days; the life at the rectory, the singular noises, so like what Bartlett in his *Nile Boat* relates as having occurred in Egypt, and like the Epworth noises alike unexplained;* his early scholastic training, and his life

* Mr. W. H. Bartlett, in his "*Nile Boat, or Glimpses of Scenes in Egypt*," gives an account of the Jinn or Genii, in which he extracts a passage from Mrs. Poole.

at the University. Dr. Stevens has shown untiring industry in gathering from a great variety of sources whatever is most interesting on these points, and has woven a condensed narrative, spirited, graphic, and highly entertaining.

Of Mr. Wesley's scholarship and standing at the University we are inclined to say a few words, chiefly because many have so formed the habit of looking at him as merely a religious devotee, and something of a fanatic withal, that they can hardly conceive of him as a scholar of first position, adorned with all the graces of academic lore. Yet such he really was.

"In his youth he was gay and sprightly," says his biographer, Mr. Watson, "with a turn for wit and humor." At seventeen he was elected from the Charter House School, where he prepared for the University, to Christ Church College, Oxford, and at twenty-one "he appeared the sensible and acute collegian; a young fellow of fine classical taste, of the most liberal and manly sentiments."* He had commenced the study of Hebrew before he went to college, under his brother Samuel's instruction, and continued it after matriculation. After his election to a fellowship in Lincoln College, "he was appointed Greek lecturer and moderator of the classes. To his skill in logic even Mr. Southey bears honorable and candid testimony. As moderator of the classes at Lincoln College, he presided at the disputations by the students, which were held six times a week, an exercise which 'sharpened his habits of logical discrimination.' He pursued through this period a regular and systematic course of study, embracing in its round the Greek and Latin classics, Hebrew and Arabic, Metaphysics and Natural Philosophy, Logic and Ethics,

That lady relates that some evil possession so disturbed the occupants of a certain house that no family could live there long. After relating some incidents connected with this house, which her family had rented for want of another, she says: "To describe all the various noises by which we have been disturbed is impossible. Very frequently the door of the room in which we were sitting late in the evening . . . was violently knocked at many short intervals; at other times it seemed as if something heavy fell to the pavement close under one of the windows of the same room or one adjoining; and as these rooms were in the top of the house, we imagined at first that some stones or other things had been thrown by a neighbor, but we could find nothing outside after the noise. The usual sounds continued a greater part of the night, and were generally like a heavy trampling, like the walking of a person in heavy clogs, varied by knocking at the doors." "This story," Mr. Bartlett adds, "so remarkably resembles the one told by the different members of the Wesley family, that it might almost be taken for an Oriental version of it." The similarity in many features is certainly curious and striking. It is not, however, so well authenticated as the occurrences at Epworth.

* Quoted in Watson's "Life of Wesley," from the Westminster Magazine.

Oratory and Poetry, and Divinity, and chiefly composition in those arts. To mathematics also he gave considerable attention. But this branch of science was not pursued as thoroughly at that day in the schools as it is now, nor did Mr. Wesley, as we infer from what he says in after life, think it expedient for him to pursue it as he did the other branches. Mr. Southey also bears testimony to his merits as a poet. "Of Mr. Wesley's talents as a poet of high order, none can doubt who is capable of appreciating real poetic excellence." This is "*laudari a viro laudato*;" but as Providence had raised up for him so able an assistant in this department, he did not pursue it to any great extent, and Charles Wesley became "the sweet singer" of our Israel.*

In regard to Mr. Wesley as a writer, tastes may differ. But to form a just estimate of him his earlier writings should be perused; those, I mean, in which the odor of the college still hung about him, and in which he exhibited the full effect of his classic taste. The sermons preached before the University, while it cannot be said that they are marked with high adornments of imagination and excited thought, for that was not the fashion of the day in the pulpits of the Establishment, exhibit a fine classical taste, a style chaste, pure, correct, and elegant. They show more of the classical scholar, but less of the earnest, evangelical, and practical preacher, that he became when his soul was fully awake to the claims of eternal things, and he was baptized with the spirit of his heavenly mission. His mind then became too much engrossed with higher and holier aims to pay great attention to minor beauties. He now abjured "an elaborate, elegant, or oratorical dress." He had not time for such writing, nor did his object demand it. "I design plain truth for plain people. I now write as I generally speak, *ad populum*—to the bulk of mankind." And elsewhere he says: "I dare no more write in a fine style, than wear a fine coat." And yet, while not aiming at fineness in writing, where shall we find more true eloquence than in many of his writings? Take, for instance, that exquisite soliloquy in which he calls himself "a creature of a day, passing through life as an arrow through the air." The whole passage is beautiful, even sublime and thrilling, but it is too long to quote; and we apprehend our reader is familiar with it. Mr. Wesley's sermons do not show what, in point of literary excellence, he could have done, but rather what in his peculiar circumstances and under his peculiar obligations he felt called to do. Who could have done it better? And we believe very strongly that many, in attempting a more ornate style, especially in the pulpit, have done immeasurably worse. They have

* Life of Wesley, vol. i, p. 70. Note. New York, 1847.

appeared like an over-dressed fop in a funeral cortege, or like Nero fiddling when Rome was on fire. His style was eminently terse, sententious, and forcible, and not unfrequently truly eloquent. But it was eloquent in thought and feeling, not in imagination and language merely. The peroration to his sermon on Free Grace is wisely referred to as a pertinent example.

Great injustice is done to Mr. Wesley by many in regard to his appreciation of learning as well as to his scholarship. Who, on any serious inquiry, can doubt his high estimate of mental culture? Let any one read his *Serious Address to the Clergy*, in which he erects a standard of ministerial qualifications, and points out the lamentable deficiency of too many who were called "Masters in Israel." Let them read his *Plan of Study for a Young Lady*, including not only the common branches, but also logic, ethics, natural philosophy, metaphysics, history, with chronology and geography, and poetry, sacred and secular. At the same time he gives a list of authors, among whom we need only mention Locke, Malebranche, Ray, and Puffendorf; and in poetry, Spenser, Milton, Young, and Shakspeare. And these books were recommended to a lady. His own practice was conformed to his advice. There have been few more omnivorous readers, as his *Journals* sufficiently show. And yet during his whole life he was preaching from ten to fourteen times a week; he wrote more books than authors by profession, than Addison, Pope, or Dryden; he traveled more miles than professed travelers; and he endured the care of all the societies which he founded, organized, and superintended. He wrote, besides his numerous theological works, not less than five grammars of different languages, a system of logic, and an extended volume of natural philosophy, which, if now behind the times, was yet valuable and important in its day. These facts are sufficient, surely, to prove that Mr. Wesley placed no low estimate on the value of learning either to private persons or to ministers of the Gospel. Nor have the sentiments of Methodists really changed on these points. It is not true that Methodists as a body, whatever individuals may have done, ever despised learning in its proper place. To be sure they always considered piety in a minister more essential than learning, and so they do now, and we trust they ever will; but they always regarded the union of the two as most desirable. At the rise of Methodism there was, both in England and the United States, a disposition to magnify learning above piety. This led Methodists to take the opposite ground, and exalt piety above learning. This seemed to create an antagonism. But now that other Churches have come to give the right place to piety, Methodists can afford to give the right place to learning. For

this reason it is in part, that, since their resources have so greatly increased, they have paid and are now paying so much attention to education both among their clergy and the laity.

This strain of remark, however, though not irrelevant, is in danger of carrying us beyond due limits. We return to our more immediate object.

We should be glad to give the history of Mr. Wesley's early religious life, but our space will not permit. We must refer our reader to the work itself, where he will find it skillfully drawn out. Here, as usual, the author shows his power of interesting condensation. Every thing necessary to a clear unfolding of his mental processes is given without being in the least tedious or wearying. The foundation of Wesley's religious character and habits was laid in reading such works as Thomas à Kempis, Taylor's *Holy Living*, Law's *Christian Perfection*, and the like. These produced in him a deep sense of the importance of personal religion, and earnest cravings after a holy life, while they erected a lofty standard of practical godliness. He prayed, read the Scriptures and books of devotion, fasted, received the communion weekly, visited the sick and the prisoners in jail, practised all sorts of self-negation and asceticism in the effort to produce inward peace and satisfactory evidence of piety. But he found his efforts vain. It was not until after his acquaintance with the descendants of the martyrs of Constance, the earnest and evangelical Moravians, that he came to know the way of salvation by faith. Then he found, by a more enlightened perusal of God's word, how, "being justified by faith, we have peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ." He saw that these acts of self-denial, and even of religious duty, which, when ennobled by faith in Christ, are "holy, just, and good," without it are but *dross*. Now he found not only peace of conscience, but the secret of a Christian's power. His own heart being warmed with all the fire of heavenly love, he became a flaming messenger of God to his fellow-men. He at once began to preach the Gospel in demonstration of the Spirit and of power, and his earnestness became too great for a cold and fallen Church either to comprehend or to tolerate. He was denied the use of the pulpits, and so he had to preach wherever he could gather congregations. The author of the *History* well remarks, that he was excluded from the churches, not because his manner was clamorous nor in any way eccentric; nor that his doctrine was heretical, for it was clearly that of the Homilies and other standards of the Church; but it was brought out too forcibly, and presented too vividly for the state of religious life around him." As many said, "it drove the people mad." When the Bishop of

Gloucester heard of such madness, created under Mr. Whitefield's preaching, he is reported to have wished that the madness might not pass away before another Sabbath. But they had few sympathizers like this good bishop, and as each rector then, as now, claimed the right to control the preaching in his own parish, the Wesleys and their coadjutors soon found themselves shut out of the pulpits of the Establishment.

The system of Wesleyanism arose under the order of Divine Providence. It was not a development, a something that already existed drawn out and brought to view; it was a new creation, a special movement directed by God. Wesley had no plan, no ulterior design further than to restore primitive Christianity, to raise up a holy people. Beyond this he purposed nothing. Born in the pale of the Establishment, a strict and even rigid Churchman of the High Church order, so high that he refused the Eucharist to even devout men who had not been baptized by a "regularly" ordained minister, and, with his brother Charles, was reprov'd by the Bishop of London for his "readiness to rebaptize Dissenters;" exhorting his followers to receive the Eucharist from even ungodly clergymen, for their office' sake, he adhered punctiliously to the rubrics of the Church, and earnestly deprecated all deviation from her order. What a capital mistake was that in driving out so faithful a son from the motherly bosom! What a powerful instrument he would have been in enlarging, strengthening, and purifying the Church! Well might Macaulay regard this as one of the most fatal mistakes ever made by man, and say that had he been within the pale of the Church of Rome, she would not have failed to make her system bend in some way to afford a scope for his labors, and so have used him for the advancement of her aims. But it was a movement of Providence, and not a contrivance of man. What disinterested person could now wish it otherwise? The result has been the great enlargement of the area of Christ's kingdom on earth. Beyond question, much more has been accomplished for the spread of Christian truth and the diffusion of a holy influence, than if the founder of Methodism had been tightly bound by the rubrics, and the exultant spirit of a vital and powerful Christianity restrained by those artificial bonds.

Thus also in the establishment of the Methodist Church in these United States, Mr. Wesley would gladly have obtained episcopal ordination for the founders of this new Church; but he well knew it was hopeless to expect it. Meantime he had become fully convinced, by reading Lord King's work, that bishops and presbyters are in fact the same order, and that it was his right to ordain. Then the

case admitted no delay; there was no Established Church in America; the union with the mother country, and consequently with the English Church, had been sundered. Wesley therefore was intruding into no one's parish, running over no one's heritage; he was taking care of these lost sheep in the wilderness. Why should he not prepare a fold for them? God had in a wonderful manner used his missionaries to bring men under Christian nurture, and there were no others to feed them. In such a crisis Mr. Wesley stepped boldly forward, and did what he had for expediency refrained from doing, but which he believed by the canons of the New Testament he had a full right to do. He chose to follow the rules of Christ and the Apostles rather than to be guided by human fabrications. And God has set his sanction to the work which he did, and who shall gainsay it?

Nothing can betray more ignorance than to represent John Wesley as an ambitious plotter, endeavoring by his own contrivances to establish a powerful sect. He had no thought of this. He had no idea what his system was to become. He was led on at every new movement by a pressure of circumstances which he had but wisely to direct. And in nearly every instance the measures and phenomena were only in accordance with what is written in the New Testament, and what occurred in early Christianity, or in other powerful religious movements. Thus the itinerant ministry was adopted from a regard to the limited attainments of his early preachers. But he found it to work so well that he made it a permanent part of his legal organization. The introduction of lay preaching was entirely adverse to all his views; yet he was almost compelled to adopt it. But it had its parallel in other religious revivals, as in Germany and Switzerland, and has been known in the Church of England since, as in the case of Rev. John Clark of Trowbridge, and is practised at this day by Mr. Brownlow North, Mr. Grant of Arndilly, and Lord Kintore, who are laboring with such good effect in Scotland. Dr. Archibald Alexander found a similar instance of lay preaching in a Baptist millwright in Virginia. The strange physical phenomena which attended the preaching of Whitefield and the Wesleys are only what had occurred before and elsewhere. Witness the holy ecstasies and swoonings of the devout Mrs. Edwards, wife of Dr. Jonathan Edwards, who frequently lost her strength, and would lie powerless under intense religious emotion. Similar cases occurred under Mr. Tennent, in New Jersey. But Mr. Wesley never considered them any part of religion, not at all necessary; never encouraged them, and always looked on them with some suspicion, though his views about them never seem to have been entirely settled. Sometimes

he appeared to think them demoniacal, sometimes the result of physical causes, and then again the result of a divine influence in some way affecting the body. Charles Wesley had little confidence in them, perhaps too little; and having detected some counterfeits, took a bold and decided method to try the reality of the cases, not seldom with an amusing success. One man, coming in a drunken fit from an alehouse, was pleased to fall into a fit and beat himself heartily. Wesley, instead of showing any interest, singing over him, and so forth, just left him to recover at his leisure. Once a young woman began to cry aloud; he ordered her to be carried away; her convulsions were so violent as to deprive her of the use of her limbs, till they laid her without the door and left her. She then immediately found her strength and walked off. A few hints of that sort worked wonders. Yet it is not to be supposed that these cases were all fictitious. Many of them were no doubt sincere and genuine, like those of Hester Ann Rogers and Mrs. Edwards. But it required discrimination and some courage to separate the chaff from the wheat. On one occasion, our author tells us, "before he began he gave public notice that whoever cried so as to drown his voice should, without any man's hurting or judging them, be gently carried to the farthest corner of the room." His porters had no employment during the evening; "yet," quoting Wesley's words from Jackson's Life, "yet the Lord was with us, mightily convincing of sin and righteousness." Page 189.

Among the traits in this work which please us, one, and not the least, is the liberal spirit which pervades it. While it is thoroughly Methodistic, it is not in the least captious or carping. There is in it no air of bigotry nor ultra sectarianism. It is true to Methodism without assailing others, or showing any disposition to withhold from them their due. It rejoices in truth and goodness every where, and even to see and admit them in those who do not in all things walk with us. This trait shines out continually in the history before us. Thus, while Dr. Stevens does not shrink from giving John Wesley the first position in this new movement, as he was in fact its leader and its controlling spirit, yet he brings into deserved prominence others who either directly took part with him, or in any way drank into the spirit of the revival. Thus not only the excellent Perronet, vicar of Shoreham, and the active energetic Grimshaw, curate of Haworth, a place of late made famous as the residence of the Brontës, with the saintly Fletcher, of Madeley, but also those with whom he did not in all things "see eye to eye," receive due commendation. Thus we see justice done to Lady Huntingdon, the excellent Romaine, Madan, Howell Harris, and others

who took the Calvinistic side in the controversies that arose at that time. It is very delightful to see that the breach between those really kindred spirits was not so wide as it appeared to us to have been from reading the writings of some of the warm controversialists. Among other things we rejoice to see justice rendered to the eloquent Whitefield. He had been accustomed to look upon Wesley and Whitefield as almost alienated by this controversy, and in consequence we have failed to render justice to the latter. The History corrects this error. It shows that although there was a partial estrangement, it was only for a season. They soon came together again, and though to a certain extent they labored apart, yet they labored in harmony, and with mutual appreciation and confidence.

It is remarkable that men of such different mental temperament and physical organization, of such different tastes, habits, and early training, should have cherished such a high reciprocal regard, and should have labored in such close fraternal relation, especially after Mr. Whitefield's religious affinities led him to adopt a different theological, or shall we say philosophical (?) system. Both were too large hearted and liberal minded and conscientious to allow themselves to be kept asunder by secondary or tertiary things when they so entirely sympathized in all the great essentials of Christianity. They both aimed at the same thing, the winning of souls to Christ, and the reformation of a lost race. For this they labored in unity, though each in his own way. Wesley's greater learning, deeper talent, acuter logic, more far-reaching thought, and higher constructive and governing faculty; and Whitefield's more ardent and excitable nature, greater emotional susceptibility, higher histrionic talent, more vivid imagination, and quicker conceptive powers, combining to make up, with his noble voice, his wonderful oratorical capabilities, were alike laid at the foot of the cross, and each rejoiced at the achievements of the other. God was alike the Master of both, and in his service they lived, and loved, and labored.

We consider the sketch of Whitefield's life and labors by no means the least interesting of these pages. The whole story is beautifully and delightfully told. We see the little boy of the inn, in his blue apron performing his menial duties; the humble servitor at Oxford, the earnest member of the "godly club," and finally the burning, flaming herald of the cross, "the Prince of Preachers," as our author calls him, whose destiny it was to give such an exhibition of Christian oratory as these latter days of the Church, or even the former ones, have seldom or never seen. His personal history is briefly and rapidly sketched, and yet with sufficient minuteness to give it life and interest. We follow him in his

flying tours through England on his mission of mercy, in his thirteen passages across the Atlantic, in his visit to the Bermuda Isles, and in his incessant labors on our continent. The account of the close of his career at Newburyport, whence he ascended to his Father's house above, deserves to stand with Macaulay's history of the death of the patriot Christian, Hampden. It is every way as graphic, eloquent, and inspiring. We feel strongly tempted to insert some extracts from it here; but we can hardly find room for anything that would do it justice. We must refer the reader to the volume itself.

We have spoken of Dr. Stevens's liberality, and we may add that this is a fair reflection of the spirit of the system. Liberality is a trait that characterized the Methodistic movement from the beginning, and is legitimate to it always. The first platform of the society was the broadest possible that could consist with evangelic soundness. "There is only one condition previously required of one who desires admission into these societies, a desire to flee the wrath to come and to be saved from his sins." But this was to be proved sincere by a corresponding life. Thus all, of whatever private opinions, or doctrinal or ecclesiastical predilections, might be members of the society. The association was as little bound by technicalities as it is possible to conceive. Hence, from the beginning it included men of, in some respects, quite opposite sentiments. In short, Methodism is a term that did not at first designate any particular set of dogmas, but was applied to all who were in earnest in seeking the salvation of their souls, and in doing good to their fellow-creatures. In accordance with this the early Methodists were of every shade of evangelical opinions—Churchmen, Moravians, Arminians, and Calvinists. The first conferences held by the Wesleys included not only the Wesleys, but Perronet, Manning, Bateman, Grimshaw, Piers, Venn, and others, all clergymen of the Establishment, but also Howell Harris, Whitefield, and others of that class. This was, in fact, not a revival of opinions, strictly and properly considered, but of true religion, and hence the unity in action of those who sympathized in spirit. It must be confessed that the term Methodism subsequently became somewhat more restricted in its application, and more marked by its own special forms and modes of action. Yet even to this day it has, we verily believe, more freedom, more liberality, and less of what is technical and cramping, than any other denomination. It is her spirit to extend the largest charity to those who differ from her. She lays the least stress upon things non-essential. Strict and remarkably uniform in her doctrinal teachings, and therefore remarkably careful of the orthodoxy of her ministers, still she can admit into her bosom, in full

membership, men of every phase of evangelical opinion, without requiring them to square their views by any dogmatic tests. Earnest only in raising up a holy people, she does not demand as a condition of labor the enlargement of her own ecclesiastical domain. As Methodism was originally an institution intended to revive a dormant Church, so she can still pursue the spirit of this calling; and modern Methodism sent her missionaries to a nominal Christian and Protestant country purposely to infuse new life into a dead organism, but with special charge not to attempt to form a Church. Such was the mission of the Rev. George Scott to the kingdom of Sweden—a mission which, according to Dr. Baird, was chiefly instrumental in the revival now taking place in the Swedish Church. In our own country who can tell how much Methodism has fed the other Churches of our land, and supplied other pulpits with able ministers? She can afford to do it, and yet carry on her work. We believe that this liberality is worth more than all it costs, because it is a part of the true spirit of Christianity. It is not self, but Christ's cause that she seeks to build up. Methodism has ever rejoiced in seeing good done, whoever were the instruments. When she came to this continent she greeted with delight every cordial and earnest Christian laborer. Thus she entered into immediate and fervent sympathy with the excellent Barratt of Delaware, Jarratt of Virginia, the devoted Otterbein in Baltimore, and Boehm in Pennsylvania. Thus, also, the apostolic Asbury felt a deep interest in a zealous and useful Presbyterian clergyman in New Jersey, and on a visit to the town where he resided sent a special request for him to call on him. "On my departure," we have heard him say, "the bishop put his hands on my head and pronounced upon me a solemn benediction, which impressed me more than anything that I remember in all my life." This is akin to that same spirit in which Lord Dartmouth, a follower of Wesley and Whitefield, endowed and gave name to Dartmouth College, and in which Whitefield and his coadjutors originated Princeton College, to both which the Methodists of England contributed, (p. 479.) In fact the spirit of Methodism is nothing but the true spirit of Christianity, which inquires, "Is thine heart right as my heart is with thy heart? If it be give me thy hand." Such is the disposition that John Wesley teaches and enforces upon his followers in his sermon on the "Catholic Spirit."

We have alluded to the subject of lay preaching. It deserves further notice. We have said before that this was no plan or design of Wesley. He adopted it, or rather at first submitted to it, strong Churchman as he was, with sufficient reluctance. But so few

were the really evangelical teachers, and so satisfactory the proof that certain laymen were fully qualified to give such religious instruction as the people needed, and so clear the evidence that certain persons of this sort were appointed by God to the work of the ministry, that Mr. Wesley's scruples were overcome, and he yielded to the decided opinion of his sagacious mother. She said, alluding to Thomas Maxfield, "He is as surely called of God to preach as you are." Wesley heard him, saw the effect, and was convinced. Thomas Maxfield was the first of that noble army of disinterested men who have expended time, labor, and money in preaching Christ without any reward but what they found in the labor itself, and in the evidence they had of God's approbation in their work. Many sketches are given us of these early assistants of Wesley in the volume before us, written with all the interest of romance. The accounts are as racy and vivid as they are true. Here we have a life-like picture of that large-hearted, noble spirited man, John Nelson, who wrought with his trowel and hammer to sustain life, and preached the Gospel free of charge. His natural talent, energy of character, heroic spirit, cool self-possession, aptness of speech, and ready utterance, gave him such power over the mobs that assailed him that he usually came off quite victorious, and often utterly confounded and subdued his opponents. Thus in Nottingham a sergeant in the army headed a mob to attack him, but at length came to him in tears, confessed his error, begged pardon, avowing his belief that he was "a servant of the living God." "He then kissed me," says Nelson, "and went away weeping." (Page 206.) Nevertheless he was sometimes shamefully abused. He was assaulted, apprehended, and thrust into a filthy dungeon, drafted into the army, and marched about the country for three months, exhorting and preaching, however, wherever he went. At length he was released by the kind interposition of the Countess of Huntingdon.

A totally different character, yet scarcely less interesting, was the devout but ascetic Walsh. An aboriginal Irishman, a rigid Romanist, he found no peace until he came to learn the way of salvation by faith. He then became, in his better illumination, as devoted to God as in his ignorance he had been to the formularies of a fallen Church. He did not abate his rigor of life because he was "not under the law but under grace." He learned English when he was eight years old; was early instructed in Latin; after his conversion spent much time in reading the Hebrew and Greek Scriptures on his knees. He rose at four o'clock in the morning, and continued his labors until late at night, preaching constantly twice or thrice a day, besides visiting his people from house to house. His labors were too much

for him. He died in the prime of life, literally worn out. So great a mistake do good men sometimes make in trying to save moments of time that should be given to nature's needful recreations. They throw away years of life when best adapted to matured and extensive usefulness. However, this fault is so seldom committed that it hardly requires any very urgent premonition, and the error may be pardoned in view of its rarity, as well as the purity of motive and earnestness of character that occasion it. Walsh's depression of mind in his last sickness, we doubt not, was occasioned by his own error in this respect. Yet happily the cloud broke away; the sunlight beamed upon his soul, and he died exclaiming, "He is come! he is come! My beloved is mine, and I am his! his forever!"

There are many others among Wesley's lay helpers who deserve notice, but our space does not admit it.

It is remarkable how the spirit of Methodism found access to all portions of British society. While we confess, without shame or regret, that it was most influential in the lower and middle classes, it was also felt in its power by some, and not a few, of the nobly born. But Dr. Stevens has called attention to another class of beneficiaries that have not been so frequently, nor elsewhere so fully noticed in this connection; we mean the soldiery. In the days of the Puritans a man might wield a sword and pray; and subsequently Colonel Gardiner was a bright specimen of a Christian soldier; but in the days of early Methodism a praying soldier was a rarity. The rank and file of the British army were about as godless a set as could be found in the kingdom. Its commencement in the army was singular. "Methodism," says our author, "had broken out in the British army in Flanders, and was achieving in camps and battle-fields the moral miracles which it had effected among the miners of Cornwall, Kingswood, and Newcastle," and he might have added, the spinners and weavers of Spitalfields and Moorfields, scarcely less depraved than the others. John Evans, a soldier, had heard Wesley on Kennington Common, and carried in his heart the seeds of truth. They germinated, and in Flanders brought forth fruit. There were six or seven privates in the army, who held religious worship with their comrades, and several hundred were converted and formed into societies. These men were not less brave in the day of battle than conscientious in their Christian walk. The descriptions of Evans, Haime, Bond, and Staniforth are particularly piquant and spicy. Wesley seemed to take strong interest in the soldiery. "On one of his visits to Ireland he said the first call of Methodism is to the soldiers."* He

* *History of Methodism*, page 323, quoted from Wesley's Journal.

had good reason, for he had found them excellent friends in Cork, where they flocked to his preaching and defended him from the mob. They gathered round him at Dublin, where he found contiguity to the barracks the best safeguard against the rabble. Many of them became soldiers of Christ, and carried the spirit of piety with them into the tented field. Thus had Wesley successful helpers where a religious influence has always been too rare. The character of Lieutenant, generally called Captain Webb, is well known. Captain Scott, a descendant of an ancient and opulent family in Salop, was another instance. He entered the army as cornet, was promoted to a captaincy in the dragoons, fought in the battle of Minden, was afterward converted, and openly preached to his men, wearing his regimentals. Such a case also was that subsequently of Lieutenant Vicars, a Wesleyan, who, while stationed with his regiment in Nova Scotia, preached to his soldiers on the Sabbath, and was devoted to every good work. The Christian character of his son, Captain Headley Vicars, who fell at the head of his company during a sortie at Sebastopol, is well known. The son, unlike his father in this respect, never united himself to the Wesleyan Society, yet he was a man of like faith and of elevated piety. Thus has the spirit of Christianity extended in the British army, where of late years have appeared such men as Vicars, Hammond, the Lawrences, Havelock, Napier, Colonel Colin Campbell, and others. Similar cases have occurred in the army of the United States. So has religion, vital, evangelical religion, permeated all classes of society. We do not assert that this is directly owing to Methodism; but we do say that the Wesleys and Whitefield were, under God, the instruments of this great religious awakening which began during the last century, and which is now, through the different Churches, widening its dominion both in Europe and America, in all classes of society.

But we are in danger of extending our remarks beyond due space, and we must therefore, however reluctantly, draw to a close. We commend this volume most cordially to the reader, both for instruction and entertainment. He will find in it the completeness of an exhaustive history, without the dullness and baldness of a mere itinerary. Dates and statistics are given; even the details of conferences entered into, yet so interspersed with interesting narrative, and vivacious sketches of character and incident, as to throw a perpetual sunlight over the whole. The peculiarities of Methodism are stated, but without any labored and dry defense. The simple statement of the origin and occasion of them is sufficient in a book of history, where a series of essays would be out of place. Our author, too, from his wide range of inquiry, has gathered

together many things that we believe will be new to most of our readers.

The style of our author we have spoken of as uncommonly engaging. It is chaste, clear, and vivacious; easy and flowing, it bears you pleasantly along without labor and without tedium. It is well sustained throughout, yet not at all monotonous. It is natural; it conforms to the requirement of the ancient critic, who directs us to write plain and common thoughts in a plain and simple manner; animated thoughts in more lively language; and elevated and stirring thoughts in a style more eloquent and vivid. In short, instead of maintaining a tiresome uniformity, one should let the language always conform to the subject. Dr. Stevens neither tires you by sameness, nor disgusts you by affectation, nor fatigues you by a succession of high-flown and overstrained periods. Satisfied with uttering thoughts worth recording, he can afford to be simple. He utterly eschews the vices of modern period-makers, never thinking it necessary to hide superficial sentiments by the tinsel of fine words. To use the illustration of another: "Does he wish to speak of a large room well lighted? he does not need to say, 'an extensive apartment effectively illuminated.'" He would altogether prefer the language of the inspired volume, "Let there be light, and there was light," which Longinus cites as an illustration of the sublime in writing, to the mawkish substitute proposed by a modern, self-proposed translator: "Let light irradiate the universe; and instantly light flashed into existence!"* What would this sapient writer say to the simple Latin rendering, "*Lux fuit. Et facta est lux?*" If such a one desired to convey into intelligible English Cæsar's address to the frightened pilot in a squall, "*Quid times? Cæsarem vehis, et fortunam;*" or the words of Themistocles to the enraged Eurybiades, "Strike, but hear me!" he would have spread it into several well-rounded periods. Neither does Dr. Stevens fall into that vice, now so common, of introducing new and fashionable words, quite out of place, as if for the mere purpose of showing an acquaintance with them, as some men love to mention familiarly great people with whom they have only a very casual acquaintance. An inadvertence here or there may perhaps be detected, as once or twice the word *develop*, or *development*, is used in a sense amply sustained indeed by common usage, but not by strict etymological propriety; and the words "curate" and "vicar" are used with some confusion. Thus on page 258 the Rev. William Grimshaw is styled "*cure of Haworth,*" and shortly after, on page 261, he is called the "*heroic vicar.*" The fact is, Haworth is a perpetual curacy within the parish

* Theol. and Bib. Review; London, 1815, page 2.

of Bradford, the vicar of Bradford and a board of trustees determining the appointment. Perpetual curates sometimes have curates, like rectors or vicars, when they require assistance in their parochial duties.

No writer is so sharp-sighted as to escape all rhetorical blemishes. Accordingly a few, and only a very few, we meet in this volume. On page 134 "the Witness of the Spirit" is called the "common privilege of *all* believers." A European would hardly use the expression "*high-bred* aristocracy," (p. 37,) or "the highest *aristocratic* rank," (p. 167,) *high-bred* in one case and *aristocratic* in the other being superfluous. Once only that very common inelegance, "in their midst," is found, instead of among them, or in the midst of them. And twice only we noticed a violation the rule that requires abstract truths and permanent facts always to be put in the present tense. Thus on page 341, when our author says that "Fletcher modestly observed that God's wisdom *was* sovereign and unsearchable," we are naturally inclined to say, And when was it not? Is it not so always? If "the Athenian orator said that action *was* eloquence," (p. 469,) then he implied that it had ceased to be so, which is far from what he intended. He said "it is eloquence" This error is frequently committed when a past tense precedes the abstract truth or permanent fact, the writer improperly assigning the same time to the two distinct and dissimilar ideas. Even Blair himself does not always avoid this error, as in the following sentence: "If any one should maintain that sugar was bitter, and tobacco was sweet, no reasonings could avail to prove it."* Others might be cited from this elegant writer. That able writer and excellent scholar, Dr. Arnold, commits the same error when, speaking of his place of residence at the time, he says: "Yet I should be very false and very ungrateful if I did not acknowledge that Rugby *was* a very dear home."† It is of frequent occurrence when one reports what another said at some former period, as, "Mr. Webster asserted that the Constitution of the United States *was* the supreme law of the land." But these inadvertencies are so few and small as to be hardly worth the naming. The style is characterized by more than usual accuracy, and is deserving of high commendation.

We cannot close these remarks without noticing the mechanical execution of this volume. The typography and binding are excellent, and do credit to the establishment which sends it forth. The type is clear, neat, and broad, pleasant to the eye, and easily read. The binding, of superior workmanship, is at once strong and elegant. Altogether it is a beautiful book.

* Blair's Rhetoric. Mill's edition, p. 24. † Life and Correspondence, p. 411.

Nor can we fail to direct attention to the frontispiece, a fine engraving of John Wesley. It is extremely life-like and natural. We have seen no likeness of that eminent man that gives so good an idea of the original. It is a representation of him in his later years. While it bears unequivocal marks of advanced life, it shows

"An old age serenely bright
And lovely as a Lapland night."

In the calm and tranquil features we see the symbols of his grave yet cheerful temper, while the keen and piercing eye denotes his quick and lively apprehension. It is a face one loves to look upon.

Since writing the above we have also seen an illustrated volume of this history, adorned with other portraits of great beauty and interest. Among them are those of the venerable father, and still more venerable grandfather of the founders of Methodism, with Lady Huntingdon and Fletcher, the heroic Nelson, and besides several others, one which we suppose is Susanna Wesley, in her grave and dignified beauty, full of life and grace.

This volume, though complete in itself, so far as it goes, is but the commencement of a history that is to be brought down to our own times. We trust the author will be spared to finish his task; for we feel that the Methodist Church, and indeed the whole Christian family, will owe him a debt of gratitude for this new treasure which his genius and industry have given us. He has gathered fragments of golden ore, melted them into a precious ingot, which shall be for the enriching of the Church's spirit. His vivid details and animating sketches will be a delight to the young, while his truthful history shall instruct the old, and its liberal and Christian spirit will embalm it in the hearts of all the wise and good.

ART. VII.—THOMAS WALSH.

WITH A PORTRAIT.

On the 8th of March, 1748, John Wesley arrived in Dublin, accompanied by Robert Swindells, one of his most useful lay preachers. It was Wesley's second visit to Ireland. He felt a profound interest for the evangelization of the island; and the time he devoted to it amounted to at least six of the most laborious years of his life. He doubtless believed that Methodism had peculiar adaptations to the wants of the country. Berkley, the good Bishop

of Cloyne, had published, in his *Querist*, twelve years before the first visit of Wesley, suggestions respecting the religious improvement of Ireland, almost every one of which found its correspondence in the practical system of Methodism; whether Wesley had read them or not, he traveled, preached, and planned in behalf of Ireland as if he fully comprehended its religious problem, and judging from late events and actual prospects there, his schemes are yet to be found the most effective, however delayed.

By the time of his second visit Methodism had made no small impression on the impressible Irish. As usual, however, its introduction had provoked general hostility. John Cennick, a famous lay preacher, had delivered in Dublin an advent sermon, on the "babe wrapped in swaddling clothes," etc. A Papist, (a priest some authorities say,) who knew more about the Breviary than the Bible, caught up the phrase, and went away shouting "Swaddlers! Swaddlers!" The Methodists were thenceforth called "Swaddlers" throughout Ireland. "The word," said Charles Wesley, on a subsequent visit, "sticks to us all, not excepting the clergy." "Down with the Swaddlers!" the mob now shouted throughout Dublin; the preaching-house was dilapidated, its benches and pulpit thrown into the street, and kindled into a bonfire. Shillalahs bristled on Stephen's Green at the out-door preaching; battered heads, bleeding noses, and bunged eyes were seen in almost every "open-air meeting." Methodists, policemen, and even women, were felled to the earth, and several murders occurred. The persecution spread over the island. Ireland gave to the Methodist ministry its second martyr, John M'Burney. Cork was thrown into agitation little short of civil war. Butler, a ballad-seller, gowned like a clergyman, roamed the streets, with the rabble at his heels, shouting "Five pounds for the head of a Swaddler;" the preaching-house and the dwellings of Methodists were taken by assault; John Wesley was hung in effigy, and Charles Wesley and nine others (eight of them preachers) were presented by the grand jury, in an indictment which is said still to stand on the city records as "a remarkable presentment," and which declared that, "We find and present Charles Wesley to be a person of ill fame, a vagabond, and a common disturber of his majesty's peace, and we pray that he may be transported."

Meanwhile the Methodist evangelists marched steadily forward till they conquered a universal peace, and Cork became a perilous place to Wesley's preachers, because of its Irish politeness and bountifulness toward them; he called it "the Capua of Methodism." Wesley himself was received at last with honors by the city authorities,

at the City Hall, and the people wondered at and honored him as he rode through the streets. He was, as he might well be, astonished at their Hibernian good-nature. His Journals abound with exclamations at their boundless courtesy. They were the "politest people he had ever seen." Finer "courtesy could not be found at St. James's or the Tuilleries."

For a considerable time his preachers on the island were all sent thither from England. It has been said that if Wesley was not one of the wisest, he was at least one of the most sagacious of men; he knew the importance of a *native* Methodist ministry, and hoped to see it soon appear among his societies. The most important, if not the earliest, of his Irish preachers was provided during the second visit to which we have alluded.

Robert Swindells, with whom he arrived in Dublin at this time, was soon sent abroad "itinerating" over the land; he reached Limerick, where great interest was excited by the news that one of the "Swaddlers" was to "hold forth" on the parade ground. No people enjoy more the excitement of public assemblies than the Irish; they streamed into the city and toward the public ground. While Swindells was preaching a young man, "who had been trained a strict Roman Catholic, but whose intelligent and melancholy aspect betrayed an unsettled and inquiring mind, took his stand amid the throng, attracted among them not more by the novelty of the scene than by the hope that some words appropriate to his religious anxieties might be uttered by the humble preacher. The needed word was uttered, for the text of the itinerant was: 'Come unto me, all ye that labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest.' Twenty years later John Wesley wrote, respecting this Irish youth, that he knew a young man who was so thoroughly acquainted with the Bible that if he was questioned concerning any Hebrew word in the Old, or any Greek in the New Testament, he would tell, after a brief pause, not only how often the one or the other occurred in the Bible, but what it meant in every place. Such a master of Biblical knowledge he says he never saw before, and never expected to see again. His name was Thomas Walsh."*

This was in 1749, about a year and a half after Wesley's first visit to the country. The name of Thomas Walsh has since been, and will be to the end of time, canonized in the history of Methodism. And yet we must premise, in entering upon a brief sketch of his remarkable career, that the records which remain respecting him relate more to his character than his ministerial achievements. The latter were of the most extraordinary kind; every allusion to them

* History of Methodism, vol. 1, p. 288.

in cotemporary publications so represents them; they are referred to throughout the Journals of Wesley, and other historical documents of early Methodism, as anomalous for their extent and success, even among the marvelous ministerial labors and successes which so much surprise us in the history of early Methodist preaching; but details are not often given. Enough, however, is obvious to justify Southey's declaration, that he contributed more than any other man to the establishment of Methodism in Ireland. Wesley himself said: "I do not remember ever to have known a preacher who, in so few years as he remained upon earth, was an instrument of converting so many sinners." The reader of the early biographies of English Methodism frequently meets with exclamations about "that wonderful man, Thomas Walsh." "That blessed man," says Wesley. "I love, admire, and honor him, and wish we had six preachers in all England of his spirit," wrote Wesley to Charles Wesley. And this was said when Fletcher, Grimshaw, Nelson, Thomas Taylor, Thomas Lee, Alexander Mather, and a host of the "giants of those days," were abroad evangelizing England. "He was a person," says Morgan, his biographer, "of a surprising greatness of soul, for which the whole circumference of created good was far, far too little." And it has justly been said, "that Wesley seemed to regard him with a sentiment which could hardly be called respect; it was reverence, if not awe. Of no other one of his cotemporaries, young or old, has he left such emphatic expressions of admiration as for this young man—a youth of hardly twenty years when he began his ministry, and but twenty-eight when he descended into the grave. All cotemporary allusions to him, found in Methodist books, express similar reverence, if not indeed wonder. Not merely his great learning, nor his talents in the pulpit, where he often seemed clothed with the ardor and majesty of a seraph, but something in his character, something of saintly dignity and moral grandeur, impressed thus his friends, and those most who were most intimate with him."

Thomas Walsh was born at Ballylinn, near Limerick, in 1730. His native language was the Irish, and he was, we suppose, the first Methodist that ever preached in that tongue. He early studied the English, and learned the Latin under the tuition of his brother, who had been designed for the Roman priesthood, but whose intelligence had broken away from the delusions of Popery. Young Walsh was strictly trained in the Roman faith. His childhood and youth were marked by much conscientiousness, and unusual moral sensibility, though he represents himself as bewildered in the darkness of Popery, and finding no rest for his aspiring and inquiring spirit. The analysis which he gives of his inner life during these years is

one of the most interesting illustrations of spiritual history on record, and shows how even Papists, imbued from youth with error, are still susceptible to the best impressions of evangelic truth, when it is presented, as it was by Swindells and the early Methodist preachers generally, in its simplicity and purity, without those dogmatic forms which provoke prejudice by provoking self-defensive discussions. During all these years Thomas Walsh was really "under conviction," as we usually say; "seeking rest but finding none." He was habitually struggling against himself. "I repeated," he writes, "I repeated my resolutions and vows against sin; but, especially, whenever I fell into any outward wickedness; and, above all, the sin that did so easily beset me: then I was as on the rack, and through extremity of anguish, have frequently struck myself against the ground, tearing the hairs from off my head." He explains his long-continued and unavailing struggles by the fact that he "had not the Bible;" he had never read it except a little at school, when about eleven years of age; and the severest thing his charitable spirit ever uttered against Popery was the bitter complaint, when he escaped his errors: "Woe to you, ye blind guides," (the Romish clergy,) "ye have taken away the key of knowledge, the word of God, from the people. It is this which unfolds the hidden treasures of his will, and free grace toward mankind. While therefore I remained ignorant of this, no wonder that I went on in error, and fought as *one that beateth the air*."

Groping thus after the truth, his brother's conversations led him to doubt his Papal faith. In his eighteenth year these conversations became frequent; he heard the Bible *read in the school of his brother*, (let the friends of common schools remember,) and these facts, says his biographer, "put him upon a diligent consideration of both sides of the question."

The result was what it could only be with such a mind. Questioning, doubting, mourning in spirit, he was walking in the fields one day, in 1748, amazed at his moral condition. "Perhaps," he said to himself, "perhaps all is not right. Peradventure I have been imposed upon. But how shall I know? How can I be certainly assured whether the priest has led me in the right way? Immediately it occurred to my mind, that on God alone I could safely venture my salvation, and that without doubt he would lead me by his counsel if I asked wisdom of him." In his anguish he cried to the unseen God, "All things are known to thee, and thou seest that I want to worship thee aright. Show me the way wherein I ought to go, nor suffer me to be deceived by men."

A man who has advanced thus far in the sore fight of the soul

with doubt and error, has gained the sure vantage ground for victory. Such an appeal to God, by the mind in its anguish, puts it in an attitude to see and seize the truth; error, however gigantic, flees before such a man. A conversation with his brother and a few friends, prolonged till midnight, over the Bible and Nelson's Feasts and Fasts of the Church, "constrained him to give way to the light." He returned to his lodgings about one o'clock in the morning, fell upon his knees, and, for the first time, prayed "only to the God of heaven." He never prayed again to saint or angel, for he now knew "*there is but one God, and one Mediator between God and men—the man Christ Jesus.*"

He forthwith renounced Popery by joining the national Church. But the charity of his large heart was such that his allusions to Papists were seldom or never resentful. "I bear them witness," he wrote, "I bear them witness that they have a zeal for God, though not according to knowledge. Many of them have justice, mercy, and truth; and may, (notwithstanding many errors in sentiment, and therefore in practice, through invincible ignorance,) be dealt with accordingly, since, as is God's majesty, so is his mercy." And he concludes the record of his terrible struggle with a pathetic and sublime prayer for them.

A proof that the change was not a sceptical revolt from old error, but an evangelical "experience," is given in the fact that his religious anxieties were only deepened by it. "My conscience," he says, "still condemned me. There was no rest in my bones by reason of my sins." In this frame of mind he fell into the crowd on the Limerick parade ground, and heard Robert Swindells cry out, "Come unto me, all ye that labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest." It was as a voice from heaven unto him.

The Methodist itinerants soon penetrated to the village of Newmarket, where he resided. A "class" was formed, and Walsh joined it. "Coming," he says, "into the room where we often met together, I sat musing and meditating. My soul was looking out, and longing for Christ, as the watchman for the morning. The congregation being assembled, the servant of God (Mr. W. T.) poured out his soul in prayer. While he did this, the power of the Lord came down in the midst of us. The windows of heaven were opened, and the skies poured down righteousness. My heart melted like wax before the fire, especially at the mention of these words: *Who is this that cometh from Edom, with dyed garments from Bozrah? this that is glorious in his apparel, traveling in the greatness of his strength?* The prayer and the hymn came with such power to my heart that I was constrained to cry

out, *Bless the Lord, O my soul, and all that is within me bless his holy name; for he hath forgiven all mine iniquity, and healed my diseases.* And now I was divinely assured that God, for Christ's sake, had forgiven me all my sins. The Spirit of God bore witness with my spirit, that I was a child of God. Yea, so great was the deliverance that I could not contain myself. I broke out into tears of joy and love. Having obtained such mercy, I could not but join with the angels to sing praises to *Him that sitteth upon the throne, and to the Lamb*, who so loved me, and washed me from my sins in his own blood." A friend seated by his side was comforted in like manner at the same time.

Thus did Thomas Walsh enter into the regenerated life, and thenceforward "walked in the regeneration" till he entered into heaven.

We cannot in this article give the details of his subsequent career. For convenience we review it in respect to his character as a preacher, as a student, and as a Christian man.

I. He hesitated with awe before the responsibility of the ministry. "Lord Jesus!" he prayed in view of it, "Lord Jesus, I lay my soul at thy feet, to be taught and governed by thee. Take the vail from the mystery, and show me the truth as it is in thyself; be thou my sun and star by day and by night." When once in the ranks of the lay ministry, however, no cotemporary member of it became more eminent for zeal, labors, or sufferings. He walked thirty miles to his first appointment, which was in a barn, and amid the contradictions and mockery of some, and the tears of others, preached with an effect that demonstrated the genuineness of his mission. He proclaimed his message with remarkable power every day for some weeks at Limerick, and his awakened hearers sometimes could not be induced to leave the spot where they heard him till they received the peace of God. He went like a flame of fire through Leinster and Connaught, preaching twice and thrice a day, usually in the open air. Multitudes of all denominations attended his ministrations, and before long he was known all around the country. His command of the Irish tongue gave him great advantage with the native Papists. They flocked to hear their own rude but touching language; they wept, smote their breasts, and invoked the Virgin with sobbing voices, and declared themselves ready to follow him as a saint over the world. The beggars would gather around him as he passed, and, melting under his words, would kneel down in the streets and weep and pray. A Papist who had saved his earnings to leave to a priest or friar, for masses for his soul when he should be dead, called upon Walsh, begging him to take the

money and the responsibility of praying his soul out of purgatory. "No man can forgive your sins," said the preacher; "the gift of God cannot be purchased with money; only the blood of Christ can cleanse from sin." The astonished Romanist was deeply affected, and cried earnestly to God, while Walsh knelt by his side, and prayed for him in Irish. A native, with whom he was conversing in English, became enraged at his religious warnings, and declared that, "although he should be shot for it, he would have satisfaction," adding, with an oath, "thou shalt never deceive another, for I am resolved to be the death of thee just now." Walsh immediately reproved him in Irish. "Why didst thou not speak so to me in the beginning?" exclaimed the excited man. "The lion became a lamb," says the preacher, "while I let him know in Irish what Christ had done for sinners. He departed with a broken heart." When preaching in Irish, hearers who did not understand his speech were, nevertheless, sometimes smitten by his earnest and affecting manner, and an instance is related of a man who, hearing him in Dublin, was thus "cut to the heart." He soon became almost omnipresent in Ireland; he was mobbed often, and imprisoned several times; but nothing could obstruct his itinerating career. His name became well known among the Roman Catholic churches throughout the country. The common people would hear him, notwithstanding the remonstrances of their priests, and many were turned not only from Popery, but from flagrant vices to repentance and a holy life. All kinds of derogatory reports were spread abroad to deter them from his preaching. In Clonmel the priest assured his congregation that the eloquent itinerant had been a servant boy to a certain priest, and that having stolen his master's books, he had by that means learned to preach, and was now availing himself of his newly-acquired art for a better living. At Cork the Papists crowded to hear him, and many were converted; the priests were greatly irritated, and one of them affirmed publicly that "as for that Walsh, who had some time before turned heretic, and went about preaching, he had been dead long ago, and he who then preached in this way was the devil in his shape." Such was the only manner in which they could account to the ignorant multitude for the power of his discourses. The people, nevertheless, ran after him, and wept and cried aloud under his word as he proclaimed it on mountains and highways, in meadows, private houses, prisons, and ships. They often followed him when the sermon was concluded, begging for further instruction. They would come to his rooms to entreat his counsels and prayers, and kneeling down under his exhortations, begin to call with tears upon the Virgin and Apostles, till he could check them and teach them better."

Wesley summoned him to London, that he might preach to the neglected Irish of that city in their native tongue, for he was yet the only Methodist itinerant who could use it in public. He did so with great effect, not only in the Methodist chapels, but in Moorfields, Short's Gardens, etc. Fourteen sermons a week (two a day) were his constant task, and such was their "demonstration and power" that his biographer says it is scarcely possible to enable a stranger to conceive of the glow of his soul and the energy of his spirit on these occasions; "such a sluice of divine oratory ran through the whole of his language as is rarely to be met with." Wesley says that "wherever he preached, the word, whether in English or Irish, was sharper than a two-edged sword." Wesley ascribes to his labors in London and elsewhere a great revival, of which, five years after Walsh's death, he says: "Here I stood and looked back on the late occurrences. Before Mr. Walsh left England God began that great work which has continued ever since without any considerable intermission. During the whole time many have been convinced of sin, many justified, and many backsliders healed." Nine years did he continue this triumphant ministerial career, and death only could close it.

A posthumous volume of his sermons was published; of course they can give us no adequate idea of the preacher; but they teem with fervid thoughts; they show a thorough knowledge of both the bad and good workings of the conscience; their admonitions are startling, and their consolatory passages might thrill the most despondent heart. Sententious, rapid, and fragrant with a gracious unction, they allow not the reader to pause to criticise their literary execution.

II. Natural talents and extraordinary piety doubtless conducted much to his great success as a preacher, but with these were combined the most laborious habits of *study*—study in reference to his great work of preaching. Believing Methodism to be a reproduction of true Biblical religion, he considered the critical knowledge of holy Scripture one of the highest qualifications for his work. He consecrated himself, therefore, to this department of ministerial preparation, and persevered in it to the end with an ardor which no mere love of knowledge could have inspired. Besides the Irish, English, and Latin tongues, he became more familiar, perhaps, with Greek and Hebrew than any man of his day, especially with their Scriptural use. We have already given Wesley's assertion that he could tell how often, where, and with what significance any Greek or Hebrew term occurred in the sacred volume, and that such a master of Biblical knowledge "he never saw before and never

expected to meet again." While in London he used to meet with the Jews at their synagogues, and his familiarity with their original language enabled him to confound them by their own Scriptures. Wesley inserts in his *Journal* (January, 1756) a Biblical argument from Walsh on the deity of Christ; it is not a page long, but it is "mighty in the Scriptures." In a letter to a clergyman of the Establishment, he mentions, as a guarantee for a criticism on a certain Socinian work, that he had read the book over with "Thomas Walsh, the best Hebrean I ever knew; I never asked him the meaning of a Hebrew word but he would immediately tell me how often it occurred in the Bible, and what it meant in each place."

Study was a religious devotion with Walsh. The Hebrew was his delight. "O truly laudable and worthy study!" he exclaims; "O industry beyond all praise! whereby a man is enabled in the same language knowingly to converse with God, with holy angels, with patriarchs, and with prophets, and clearly to unfold to men the mind of God from the language of God." His biographer says: "His application was indeed prodigious. I have known him spend fourteen hours of the four and twenty in this study, excepting only the intervals of prayer. He often intermixed a verse of praise or petition; and then, turning his face to the wall, and lifting up his heart and countenance to heaven, with his arms clasped about his breast, he would stand for some time before the Lord in solemn recollection, and then return to his work." "It was a rare thing ever to see him but with a book in his hand, or speaking of the things of God. When in traveling he at any time stopped at an inn, as soon as he was shown to his chamber, to stay, whether for an hour or a night, he would take out his little Hebrew Psalter, or some other spiritual book, and fall immediately to his usual work, unless the time was otherwise taken up in exhorting the landlord, or servants, or, in short, any he met with. Accommodations for his body were his smallest care; and his attention to these was always, as it were, by the by. He seemed everywhere, and yet nowhere, at home in this world. He pursued his work well nigh equally at all times and in all places, unless when sickness prevented, and seemed spontaneously to tend to God. Even after preaching sometimes near an hour and a half together, he has immediately resumed his studies, (having books always with him,) and this often where several persons have been talking, or otherwise employed, as their occasions required, round about him; he still pursuing his work, as though he were retired in a closet; proceeding on the sentiment that he had no other business in this world than to pray, and preach, and study, and live in every place, and in everything, for God!"

A living concordance of the Bible, he exclaims with rapture, "Thy

word, O Lord, *I have for my inheritance forever!* It is the joy of my heart, and of more value to me than millions of worlds," and, with such a love and knowledge of divine truth, we may well credit his biographer when he says: "The Spirit of wisdom so rested upon him, that there was nothing of a divine nature which occurred to his own mind, or was proposed to him by others, respecting doctrines, experience, or practice, of which he could not speak with convincing clearness. He had a singular faculty for throwing light upon doubtful cases: and it was not unusual with him, by speaking two or three words, to set right, and entirely quiet the minds of persons perplexed before about points of doctrine or experience."

III. The personal character of Walsh as a Christian man was the basis of all his other excellence. He never would have preached, traveled, and suffered as he did in his ministry, were it not for the sanctity, the flaming piety of his great soul. Southey's cold criticism on Methodist zeal warms into a glow of admiration as he writes of Walsh. "The life of Thomas Walsh," he says, "might indeed almost convince a Catholic that saints are to be found in other communions as well as in the Church of Rome." "In reading the brief record of his life," says the "History of Methodism," "we seem to have before us a combination and impersonation of the Hebraic grandeur of the old prophets, the mystic piety of the papal saints, and the Scriptural intelligence and purity of Protestantism." He read upon his knees the Greek and Hebrew Scriptures; in great cities he walked the streets as if his thoughts were in heaven, and as unob-servant of surrounding objects as if he were in the solitude of great forests. A moral sublimity seemed to envelop him, and he is described as appearing like a "man from the invisible world," as one of the holy and happy dead, who had returned to converse with devout men. "Thou knowest my desire," he wrote; "thou knowest there has never been a saint upon earth whom I do not desire to resemble, in doing and suffering thy whole will. I would walk with thee, my God, as Enoch did. I would follow thee to a land unknown, as Abraham did. I would renounce all for thee, as did Moses and Paul. I would, as did Stephen, seal thy truth with my blood!" Prostrate upon his face, kneeling, standing, walking, eating—in every posture, and in every place and condition, he was a man mighty in prayer. "In sleep itself, to my certain knowledge," says one of his associates, "his soul went out (Cant. v, 2) in groans, and sighs, and tears to God. His heart having attained such a habit of tendency to its Lord, could only give over when it ceased to beat." He is represented as sometimes lost in mental absence on his knees,

with his face heavenward, and arms clasped upon his breast, in such composure that scarcely could one hear him so much as breathe; as absorbed in God, and enjoying a calmness and transport which could not be expressed; while from the serenity, and something resembling splendor which appeared on his countenance, and in all his gestures afterward, one might easily discover that he had been on the Mount of Communion, and had descended, like Moses, with the divine glory on his brow. His public prayers were attended with such ardor, pertinence, and faith, that it appeared, says his biographer, "as though the heavens were burst open, and God himself appeared in the congregation."

He was sometimes rapt away, as from earth, in his devotions, being quite lost to himself, and insensible of everything around him, absorbed in the visions of God; and in these profound and solemn frames of mind he has remained for hours, still and motionless as a statue.

Such was Thomas Walsh. He died in 1758, in Ireland, whither he had gone for the improvement of his health. Wesley met him in Limerick, "just alive!" "O what a man," he writes, "to be snatched away in the strength of his years! Surely Thy judgments are a great deep!" His death presented an extraordinary and an instructive lesson. For weeks his soul was obscured with darkness; he desponded even of his salvation. The painful mystery spread a sensation of interest and awe throughout the Methodist communities of not only Ireland, but England, and public prayers were offered for him in the chapels of Dublin and London. He was doubtless suffering under the effects of disease on the nervous system; but good men did not then understand such phenomena as we do, with our more advanced science. "His great soul," says his biographer, "lay thus, as it were, in ruins for some considerable time, and poured out many a heavy groan and speechless tear from an oppressed heart and dying body. He sadly bewailed the absence of Him whose wonted presence had so often given him the victory over the manifold contradictions and troubles which he endured for his name's sake."

But God takes care of his own "dear children," and this his beloved and faithful servant was crowned with final and everlasting deliverance. Some Christian friends were praying about his dying bed. He requested them to retire and leave him alone, for a season of self-recollection and prayer. When they returned he exclaimed: "*He is come! he is come! my beloved is mine, and I am his!*" and died.

ART. VIII.—EXPOSITION OF THE SECOND PSALM.

INTRODUCTION.

§ 1. *General Remarks—Contents.*

"ALL Scripture is given by inspiration of God," said the Apostle Paul to Timothy; and this declaration had respect to the Old Testament, inasmuch as the New Testament Scriptures were not yet published. The second psalm, therefore, as a part of this Scripture, we take to be inspired of God; we take it as inspired in its thoughts, and inspired in its words, and that David is simply the intelligent amanuensis.

Aside from this fact, this psalm has an additional interest, from its being a prophetic song, and being in fact a compend of the Gospel history from its commencement in the world down to the judgment-day. By a few strokes of the Divine pencil the whole Gospel picture, in its great outlines, is here portrayed. The opposition of heathenism and its princes; the raging of the wicked like the foaming sea; Jehovah sitting in the heavens and holding them in derision, and rebuking them in his wrath; the Gospel established; the Son having the heathen for his inheritance; the sudden destruction of his enemies, and the blessedness of his people.

Such is the substance of this psalm, being full of the fatness and marrow of the Gospel, though first sung under the twilight of the Law, a thousand years before the Saviour's advent.

§ 2. *Who was its Author?*

That David, under Divine inspiration, was its author, there can be no doubt, though there is no superscription, as is usually the case in the other psalms. The testimony of the apostles is explicit as to this point, as recorded in Acts iv, 25: "And when they [the apostles] heard *that*, [the testimony of Peter and John in regard to the healing of the lame man,] they lifted up their voice with one accord and said: Lord, thou art God, which hast made heaven, and earth, and the sea, and all that in them is; who, by the mouth of thy servant David, hast said, Why did the heathen rage, and the people imagine vain things?" God, then, uttered this psalm by the mouth of his servant David.

§ 3. *Is the Psalm Messianic?*

That is, is Messiah its subject? We answer, the מָשִׁיחַ of this Psalm is the *Messias* of the New Testament. See John i, 43; iv, 25: "He [Andrew] first findeth his own brother Simon, and saith unto him, we have found the *Messias*, which is, being interpreted, *the Christ*," or the anointed. The woman of Samaria saith unto him, "I know that *Messias* cometh, which is called *Christ*," ὁ Χριστός.

From the word מָשִׁיחַ alone nothing can be certainly determined, as it is applied in other passages to kings and priests of the Jewish nation, and in one instance to a beathen prince, Cyrus. Isaiah xlv, 1. But from its connection with the other parts of the psalm, there is no room to doubt its application to Christ.

In the first place there is peculiar appropriateness in the application of this name to Christ. As the high priest and the prince were inducted into office by the ceremony of anointing, (Exodus xxix, 29; Leviticus iv, 3,) they were often called "the Lord's anointed." So our Lord, when inducted into office by baptism, received the anointing of the Holy Spirit. Thus he was "God's anointed," מָשִׁיחוֹ; this being from מָשַׁח, to anoint, and thus he is appropriately called.

The Septuagint translated this word ὁ Χριστός. κατὰ τοῦ κυρίου καὶ κατὰ τοῦ χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ, against Jehovah and against his Christ; χριστός being from χρίω, *I anoint*.

We observe, further, that this name מָשִׁיחַ is not only peculiarly appropriate to the Saviour, but its Greek equivalent, ὁ Χριστός, is the most common name by which he is designated in the New Testament, except Ἰησοῦς.

2. Our second reason for believing that this psalm has for its subject the Messiah, is the fact of the usage of the personal poetic pronoun third plural, מֵ, in the third verse, referring for its antecedent to יְהוָה and מָשִׁיחוֹ in the second verse. The rebellious chiefs cry out,

"Let us break their bands asunder:
Let us cast their cords from us."

That is, the bands and cords of Jehovah and his Anointed, of the Father and of the Son. It is hardly needful to say that the terms "bands" and "cords" are metaphorical, for government and laws; and further that it would be very puerile, as well as very impious, to refer מָשִׁיחוֹ, thus associated with Jehovah, to any merely human or Israelitish prince.

3. Our third reason for believing that this psalm is Messianic, is that the hero of the song is so significantly addressed in the seventh verse:

Jehovah declares, "*Thou art my Son ;
This day I have begotten thee.*"

We are here introduced to the deep mystery of the Sonship of Messiah. He is the Son of the living God in a peculiar sense. Under the endearing relation of Son, the second person of the Trinity is here set forth. Emphatically the Father declares, "*Thou art my Son.*" Similar to this was the language heard from the heavens on the occasion of our Saviour's baptism, and on the mount of transfiguration, "*This is my beloved Son !*" See Matthew iii, 17 and xvii, 5. The Saviour himself alludes to this high relation when he asks the Pharisees, "What think ye of Christ? whose Son is he? They say unto him, The son of David. How then doth David by inspiration call him LORD?" [if he be not also the Son of God, and thus divine.]

This emphatic language of Jehovah, therefore, *Thou art my Son*, cannot refer to any mere human being, but to Him alone who is equal with and one with the Father.

4. Our fourth reason for believing this psalm to be a prophecy of Christ, is the fact that it is referred to Christ by all the apostles in Acts iv, 23-29. We will quote the entire passage, as we regard it as conclusive of the question before us:

"And being let go, they [Peter and John] went to their own company, [namely, the apostles and the Church,] and reported all that the chief priests and elders had said unto them. And when they heard that, they lifted up their voice to God with one accord, and said, Lord, thou art God, which hast made heaven, and earth, and the sea, and all that therein is; who by the mouth of thy servant David hast said, Why did the heathen rage, and the people imagine vain things? The kings of the earth stood up, and the rulers were gathered together against the Lord, and against his Christ. For of a truth against thy holy child Jesus, whom thou hast anointed, both Herod, and Pontius Pilate, with the Gentiles, and the people of Israel, were gathered together, for to do whatsoever thy hand and thy counsel determined to be done."

Here it is declared that the very things which God had determined should be done, and had declared by his servant David, in the second psalm, a thousand years before, should be done to Christ and his servants by Herod, and Pontius Pilate, and the people of the

Jews; all was actually fulfilled in the history of Christ and the disciples.

So also the Apostle Paul, in Acts xiii, 33, declared that "God had fulfilled the same unto us their children, in that he had raised up Jesus again; as it is written in the second psalm, Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee." So also the same apostle testifies to the same thing in Hebrews i, 5: "To which of the angels said he at any time, Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee?" The reader is left to infer that God has not made this address to any angel, but he has made it to Jesus, his Son. So also in Hebrews v, 5: "Christ glorified not himself to be made a high priest; but he that said unto him, [glorified him, saying,] Thou art my Son, to-day have I begotten thee." And in three passages of the book of Revelation the triumph of Christ over all his foes is declared in the words of the tenth verse of this psalm: "He shall rule them with a rod of iron; as the vessel of the potter shall they be broken to pieces." Revelation ii, 27. "And she [the woman] brought forth a man-child, who was to rule all nations with a rod of iron: and her child was caught up unto God and his throne." Revelation xii, 5. "And out of his [Christ's] mouth goeth a sharp sword, that with it he should smite the nations: and he shall rule them with a rod of iron." Revelation xix, 15. These Scriptures of the New Testament are perfectly conclusive that the inspired writers understood the second psalm to be a prophecy of Christ.

5. Our fifth argument for this position is that the entire internal evidence of the psalm goes to this point. Behold in it an epitome of the Book of Revelation, the coming and establishment of the kingdom of God. It is not to David, as De Wette and others would have it, that the heathen are to be given, but to a greater than David, even David's illustrious Son. The uttermost parts of the earth shall be given to *Him* alone. It is to Him that judges and kings are to bow down and pay homage, and it is He alone who is the Judge of judges, the LORD of LORDS, and the KING of KINGS. Such is the character of the hero of this psalm, a character which belongs alone to the Son of God.

It remains only to observe, that we have but reiterated the general sentiment of both the Jewish and Christian Churches. All the old Jewish interpreters agree in expounding it of Messiah, as is confessed particularly by Rabbi Solomon Jarchi, who has this remarkable passage: "Our doctors expounded this psalm of King Messiah, but that we may answer the heretics, meaning Christians, it is expedient to interpret it of David's person."

§ 4. *Can we interpret it of David's Person.*

In this connection it may be proper to discuss the question suggested by the above extract from Jarchi, that is, whether we may interpret it of David's person. This mode of interpretation was adopted by the wily Rabbi, the better to refute the Christians. But it is passing strange that even a majority of modern Protestant commentators have adopted the same or similar modes of interpretation. Calvin, for example, says, giving the contents of this psalm: "David boasteth that his kingdom, although it be assailed with huge multitude of enemies and mighty power, shall, notwithstanding, be perpetual, because it is upheld by the hand and power of God. He addeth also that it shall be enlarged even to the uttermost coasts of the earth, maugre his enemies. And therefore he exhorteth kings and other magistrates to lay down their pride, and with meek hearts to take the yoke which the Lord lays upon them, because it is in vain for them to shake it off. Nevertheless this figure containeth a prophecy concerning Christ's kingdom that was to come." That is, according to Calvin, this psalm refers primarily to David, and secondarily to Christ. It has, in fact, a double meaning, and so he proceeds to interpret it.

Very nearly coinciding with this view, is that of Mr. Benson and Dr. A. Clarke. Mr. Benson says: "Under the emblem of the kingdom of David, the Holy Ghost here foretells the opposition which should be raised by Jews and Gentiles against the kingdom of the Messiah." Dr. A. Clarke says: "In the *first* place we may suppose that this psalm was written to celebrate the taking of Jerusalem and the overthrow of all the kings and chiefs of the neighboring nations [by David]. In the *second* place we find, from the use made of this psalm by the apostles, Acts iv, 27, that David typified Jesus Christ."

This view is substantially that of Calvin, and involves the theory of the double sense. In the first place David is meant as God's anointed, and in the second place Christ is meant as God's anointed, or typified as such.

To this view we have some serious objections, which we will presently state. Mr. Wesley, with his characteristic good sense, and in his laconic style, without formally opposing the commonly received opinion, simply says: "there is nothing in this psalm which is not applicable to Christ, but some things which are not [at] all applicable to David." He then proceeds to interpret the psalm of Christ, though not exclusively so.

As an example of the interpretation given by the fathers, I would refer to Augustine. There is not a word said in all his comments about David being its subject, on the contrary he interprets it, from beginning to end, exclusively of Christ.

As an example among the moderns, I would refer to Hengstenberg, whose commentary on the Psalms is a complete thesaurus of good things, and highly evangelical. He says: "There are the clearest grounds that by 'the King,' 'the Anointed,' or 'the Son of God,' no other can be understood than the Messiah." And he accordingly interprets this psalm exclusively of Christ.

We have quoted these authorities that we might not seem rash in rejecting the view of Calvin, Benson, Clarke, and many others highly respected in the Church for learning and piety. Our exegetical inquiries compel us to adopt this course. This psalm, in our judgment, is to be interpreted exclusively of Christ. The following are some of our objections to the mixed view.

1. We object to it because it involves the impropriety of attributing to this psalm a double sense. The admission of such a principle of interpretation at once places us upon the high road to the Rabbinic absurdity, that every word of Scripture has within it "mountains of sense." On such a principle the Scriptures cease to be of value. They teach everything, and nothing with certainty. Their plain and obvious meaning is tortured to suit the fancy of every interpreter, and he that is the most fanciful and imaginative is the most expert exegete.

2. We object to this mode of interpreting this psalm, because it involves the absurdity of attributing to David that which is not true. It is not true that David ever was the ruler of the heathen nations and the possessor of the uttermost parts of the earth. His dominion never extended beyond the original grant made to Abraham, "from the river of Egypt to the river Euphrates." Gen. xv, 18. It was not even till the days of Solomon that it had even this limited extent. See 1 Kings iv, 21, 24. "And Solomon reigned over all kingdoms from the river [Euphrates] unto the land of the Philistines, and unto the border of Egypt: . . . for he had dominion over all the region on this side the river, from Tiphshah [Thapsacus] even to Azzah, [Gaza,] even over all the kings on this side of the river." Thus it appears that neither Solomon nor David reigned over the Philistines, who were heathen within thirty miles of their capital.

3. This interpretation involves the further absurdity of making David a Divine person, receiving Divine honors. The kings of the

earth are to bow down to him. "Be wise therefore, O ye kings; be instructed, ye judges of the earth. Kiss the Son, [David,] lest he [David] be angry, and ye perish from the way. . . . Blessed are all they who put their trust in him, [David.]"

The folly and absurdity of such an interpretation is at once apparent. And it is among the wonders of the past that sensible men, even learned men, have lent their sanction to such folly.

4. We object to this view, finally, because David is never called "*the Son of God*," nor indeed any other man or angel, in the high and emphatic sense of this psalm. "*Thou art my Son*," says Jehovah; and hence the apostle seizes upon this expression as declarative of the *Divinity* of Jesus and of his superiority over the angels: "Unto which of the angels hath he said at any time, *Thou art my Son*, this day have I begotten thee? . . . And again, when he bringeth in the first-begotten into the world, he saith, And let all the angels of God worship him." Such is this "*Son of God*," worshiped even by the highest angels. How absurd to make David this Son of God!

§ 5. *Its Dramatic character.*

The dramatic character of this psalm is a striking feature of it. Hence the abrupt and sententious exclamation of David in the first verse: "Why do the heathen rage!" introducing the reader at once into the battle field of the Gospel. The introduction upon the stage of God, the Father, looking out from his calm repose in the heavens upon the vain attempts of earth-worms to frustrate his purposes of glorifying his Son; his deriding them; the proclamation of the Son; and the final declaration of the Father, that the Son shall dash the nations in pieces—all gives the reader a most spirited and exciting view of the Gospel history, from its opening on the day of Pentecost till the millennial glory—till Jesus is conqueror over all his foes.

It is strikingly like the forty-fifth and the one hundredth and tenth psalms, and some of the panoramic scenes presented in the prophets and in the Book of Revelation, of the triumphs of the Son of God.

§ 6 *Translation and Notes.*

With these preliminary discussions, we now proceed to translate this psalm, and to explain such of its words and phrases as seem to call for elucidation.

SECOND PSALM—TRANSLATION.

The Psalmist speaks.

- 1 לָמָּה רָגְשׁוּ גּוֹיִם
וְלָאֻמִּים רָחֲמוּ-רִיק;
2 רִתְּצוּהוּ מַלְכֵי-אָרֶץ
וְרוֹזְנִים נִסְדּוּ-יָהוּה
עַל-יְהוָה וְעַל-מְשִׁיחוֹ;
3 נִתְחַק אֶת-מוֹסְרוֹתֵיהֶם
וְנִשְׁלִיכֵהוּ מִמֶּנּוּ עֲבָרֵיהֶם;
4 יוֹשֵׁב בַּשָּׁמַיִם יִשְׁחַק
אֲדֹנָי רִלְעֵג-לָמוֹ;
5 אִזּוּ יִדְבֹר אֲלֵיהֶם בְּאַף
וּבְחִירוֹנוֹ רִבְחָלָמוֹ;

God the Father speaks to the rebels.

- 6 וְאֲנִי נִסְכַּחְתִּי מִלְּכִי
עַל-צִיּוֹן הֶרֶם-קִדְשִׁי;

God the Son speaks to the rebels.

- 7 אֶסְפָּרָה אֶל-הֶם
יְהוָה אָמַר אֵלַי בְּנִי אֵתָּה
אֲנִי הַיּוֹם יָלַדְתִּיךָ;
I will proclaim the decree:
Jehovah hath said unto me, "Thou art my
Son;
This day have I begotten thee."

God the Father speaks to the Son.

- 8 שְׂאֵל מִשְׁנִי
וְאֵתָּה גּוֹיִם בְּחִלָּתְךָ
וְאֶחָזְתְּךָ אֶפְסֵי-אָרֶץ;
9 תִּרְעַמַּם בַּשֶּׁבֶט בְּרֹזֶל
בְּכִלֵי יוֹצֵר תִּנְפֹצֵצֵם;
Ask thou of me,
And I will give thee the heathen for thine
inheritance,
And the uttermost parts of the earth for
thy possession.
Thou shalt break them with a rod of iron;
Thou shalt dash them in pieces like a pot-
ter's vessel.

The Psalmist addresses the rebels.

- 10 וְעֵתָּה מְלָכִים הִשְׁפִּילָה
הַיּוֹסֵד שִׁפְטֵי אָרֶץ;
11 עֲבֹדוּ אֶת-יְהוָה בְּרִיָּאָה
וְנִילָדוּ בְּרַעְדָּה;
12 נִשְׁקִי-כֶּרֶס פֶּרֶאָנָה וְתֹאבְדוּ יָדְךָ
בִּירִדְעָר בְּמַעַט אָפוֹ
אֲשֶׁר כָּל-חוֹסֵי בוֹ;
And now be wise, O ye kings;
Be instructed, ye judges of the earth.
Serve Jehovah with fear,
And rejoice with trembling.
Kiss the Son, lest he be angry, and ye
perish [in your] way;
For in a little while his wrath shall burn.
Blessed is every one trusting in him.

NOTES.

Verse 1.—למה, *for what?* To what object or end does all this strife against God and his Son tend? Septuagint, *Ivari*; Vulgate, *Quare*. גוים, Septuagint, *ἔθνη*; Vulgate, *gentes*, the nations, usually meaning the heathen nations, as distinguished from the Jewish people, though here used in a general sense, including the Jews as well as the heathen. The Apostles (Acts, iv, 25) speak of Herod and Pilate as among the kings referred to. אמים, peoples. The parallelism requires this to mean the same as גוים. ריק adjective used as a noun, *nothing, vanity*; not an adverb, *in vain*. Septuagint, well, *κενά*; Vulgate, *inania*, vain things. The efforts against God and his Son are vain attempts.

Verse 2.—למה is to be repeated from the first verse, [*why do*] *the kings of the earth stand up, and [why do] the rulers take counsel together against Jehovah and against his Christ—משיחו, his anointed.* Septuagint, *χριστός*; Vulgate, *Christum*. For further discussion of this word see section third of introduction.

Verse 3.—The enemies are introduced as saying:

*Let us break asunder their bonds
And cast away their cords from us.*

The plural suffix נו has reference to Jehovah and his Anointed. *Their bands*, that is, the laws of God and his Son. עבדות, *their cords*, from עבד, to *interlace*, as a cord or rope. Septuagint and Vulgate, wrong, *ζυγόν, jugum*.

Verse 4.—*He that sitteth in the heavens shall laugh.* Hengstenberg remarks: "The prophet looks away from the wild turmoil of enemies, from the dangers which here below seem to threaten the kingdom of the Anointed, to the world above, and sets over against them the almightiness of God." Calvin remarks: "However high they may lift themselves they can never reach to the heavens; nay, while they seek to confound heaven and earth they do but dance like grasshoppers."

Verse 5.— *Then shall he speak unto them in his wrath,
And vex them in his sore displeasure.*

Jehovah first laughs at them with contempt; then—אז—the feeling of contempt is followed by that of indignation, and hence the threatenings which follow, which are stayed for the present, but are soon to burst upon the heads of the finally impenitent.

Verse 6.—*Even I have set my king upon my holy hill of Zion.* The *vav* at the beginning is emphatic, like the Greek *καί*=even. The *I* here, the Lord of heaven and earth, stands with peculiar emphasis in opposition to “them.” The *נִסְכָּחִי* is rendered by Gesenius: “*I have anointed.*” This signification, however, is very feebly supported, as Proverbs viii, 23 is the only other passage thought to have this meaning. But even here it is better rendered as the English version: *I [wisdom] was set up—נִסְכָּחִי—from everlasting, from the beginning, or ever the earth was.* Septuagint, *εθεμελίωσε μέ.* Vulgate, *ordinata sum.* Neither the context nor the authorities are in favor of the signification of the *anointed*. The original signification of *pouring out* probably suggested this meaning of anointing; but the secondary meaning of *casting, founding* by melted metal poured out, and hence to *form, set*, is much more probable, and is in accordance with the usage. See Isaiah xl, 19, and xlv, 10. *מֶלֶכִּי, my king.* Messiah is the ruler as well as the Creator and Redeemer of the world, and its final judge. All things are tending to *him*. KING OF KINGS AND LORD OF LORDS. His residence is upon Zion. He revealed himself in the sanctuary—the holy of holies—from between the cherubim. The ark had been removed by David from Kirjath-jearim to Zion. And hence this holy hill is spoken of as the seat of the Great King, and the center of the divine administration on earth. “Out of Zion shall go forth the law, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem.” Isaiah ii, 3.

Verse 7. Next appears on the stage the Divine Son, proclaiming his own character and dignity before the astonished rebels:

I will declare the decree.

Jehovah hath said unto me, “Thou art my Son;

This day have I begotten thee.”

Rosenmuller explains the phrase *אֲלֵהוּ* “*according to, or in terms of, the decree;*” “but there is no ground,” as Hengstenberg remarks, “for this,” as the word *סֵפֶר* is elsewhere coupled with the preposition *אֲלֵהוּ*, indicating the object of declaration. This is also true of the similar words *יָדַע, יָדַבֵּר, יָאמַר, יִרְדֵּעַ*. See, for examples, Isaiah xxxviii, 19; Jer. xxvii, 19; Job xlii, 7.

The decree is the fact declared, that Messiah is God’s Son, and is therefore invested with the powers and prerogatives of the Father, as the ruler over the world; and the “*to-day*” is the precise time when the Saviour received his investiture as Divine King, namely, on the day of his resurrection from the dead. So also the apostle, in Acts xiii, 33, refers these words to Christ in connection with his

resurrection. Thus, as Paul says in Rom. i, 4, he is "declared to be the Son of God with power, by his resurrection from the dead." The resurrection of Christ was the key-stone of his redemption work; the starting point of his representation as the Son of God, and his establishment in the kingdom." (Hengstenberg.)

The declaration, "This day have I begotten thee," makes nothing for nor against the doctrine of the *Eternal* Sonship of Christ. It simply declares the fact of his Sonship. The great subject of the eternity of it must be left to other Scriptures to decide. The expression "Thou art my Son," implies the *dearness* of the Son to the Father, shadowed by the *nearness* of the parental and filial relation as felt among men. It does not imply a literal begetting, but a spiritual or figurative one, implying the innermost fellowship of love. This relation, we believe, had no beginning, but is essential to God, and is therefore eternal. Though shadowed and dimly set forth in some of the Old Testament Scriptures, it was reserved for the glorious resurrection and the superior light of the new dispensation to fully declare it.

Verse 8. In this verse we have the pledge of Jehovah that his Son is to have the whole earth for his possession. There is no stronger phrase in the Hebrew to express the universality of Christ's empire than אֶפְסֹס הָאָרֶץ, *the uttermost parts of the earth*. In the twenty-second psalm, twenty-eighth verse, it is made parallel with כָּל-מִשְׁפָּחַת בָּרִים, *all the families of the nations*; and in Psalm lxxii, 8, with מִיָּם עַד-יָם, *from sea to sea*. See further parallel passages, showing the universality of Messiah's kingdom: Psalm cx; Isaiah ii, 1, 2, 11; Jeremiah xxxi, 34; Romans xv; Revelation v, and xvii.

Verse 9. "Thou shalt break them with a rod of iron." הַרְסֵם, *Thou shalt break them*, from רָעַע, and not from רָעָה, *to feed, to rule*, as Septuagint and Vulgate, which is both against the pointing and against the parallelism. Iron is here selected, as being the hardest metal, to indicate the strength and crushing force with which the Son would chastise the revolvers.

As a potter's vessel thou shalt dash them in pieces. This shall be the end of obstinate, impenitent sinners. The judgments of Heaven will overtake them. *They shall bow the knee. Their tongue shall confess*, if not in this world, yet in the world to come.

Verse 10. Now the Psalmist speaks in words of strong admonition.

"Be wise therefore, O ye kings:
Be instructed, ye judges of the earth."

Verse 11. *Serve Jehovah with fear.* As it is the dominion of the Divine Son which is sought, ought we not to understand the term Jehovah as referring specially to him?

Rejoice with trembling. Gesenius renders "*fear with trembling*," and refers to Hosea x, 5, as supporting this meaning of גִּירָה. But inasmuch as the Psalmist supposes the rebels to have submitted themselves to the conquering Son of God, it is better to render גִּירָה by its common signification of *rejoice*.

Verse 12. *Kiss the Son, &c.* The kiss was from the earliest times the mark of respect and subjection in the East. Such a kiss was given for the most part not upon the mouth, but upon the garment, or upon the hand of the person kissed. That this custom prevailed among the Hebrews, appears from 1 Samuel x, 1, where Samuel, after he had anointed the king, as a mark of respect gave him a kiss. The presenting a kiss was also a religious usage, as appears from 1 Kings xix, 18; Hosea xiii, 2; Job xxxi, 27. (See Hengstenberg.) Hence we may render *adore, worship the Son*. We have בֶּרֶךְ instead of בֶּן, a son, probably for the purpose of avoiding the cacophony which must have arisen from the juxtaposition of בֶּן and בֶּן.

וְהִתְאַבְּדֶרְךָ *And ye perish [as to] your way, or [in] your way of wickedness.* וְהִתְאַבְּדֶרְךָ is an accusative of limitation, an idiom of common occurrence in the Hebrew, as well as in the classic languages. כִּמְעַט as a little, shortly, soon. Soon will his wrath be kindled. The time up to the beginning of the punishment, when repentance is too late, is like a short period.

Blessed are all they who trust in him. Thus the first of the Messianic psalms closes up with words of mercy to sinners, reminding them, after all their wickedness, they may trust in Messiah and find mercy. Here observe the divinity of Messiah. He, as God, is able to bless those trusting in him. But this surely could not be said of any merely human being. In this respect the forty-fifth and one hundredth and tenth psalms are still more full and explicit. Not only are divine acts attributed to him, but also divine names are given him, as "*Lord*" and "*God*." Psalm xlv, 6; cx, 1.

ART. IX.—RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

GREAT BRITAIN.

Protestantism.—THE CONFLICT OF PARTIES IN THE ESTABLISHED CHURCH during the last three months has been uncommonly violent. In England it has been principally the Confessional question, in Scotland that of the Real Presence, which have agitated the minds. Another clergyman of the Establishment, Rev. Mr. West, has been accused of forcing the use of private confession, in a highly indelicate manner, upon a sick woman; but a committee appointed by Bishop Wilberforce, of Oxford, to investigate the charge, has acquitted him. The Bishop of Rochester regrets not to be able to interfere with the practice of private confession and other High-Church practices at Harlow, on account of legal difficulties. The Bishop of Winchester has refused to institute the Rev. Mr. Southey to a rectorship in his diocese for having preached the High-Church doctrine on the Eucharist, and has strictly forbidden the exhibition of any floral decoration in the churches during divine service. Several other bishops have made strong declarations against the introduction of the confessional. But the Bishop of Exeter offers an asylum to those who have to suffer for their High-Church opinions elsewhere, and refuses, also, on doctrinal grounds, the institution of members of the evangelical party to benefices in his diocese. The Bishop of Aberdeen, in Scotland, has suspended Rev. Mr. Cheyne for extreme views on the Real Presence, and the Episcopal Synod, appealed to by the defendant, has affirmed this sentence. The evangelical portion of the Scottish clergy wishes the abrogation of the Scottish service, as "leading to Romish views of the Lord's Supper," and the adoption of the English instead of it, but has, in this point, not been supported by the bishops. THE MISSIONARY ZEAL has received a new impulse by the new openings for the propagation of Christianity in Asia. The Established Church has erected new bishoprics at Nelson and Wellington, in New Zealand, and in British Columbia, and several other bishoprics are to be formed without delay. After the completion of these arrangements, the Church will have connected with her forty-four colonial bishoprics. The London Missionary So-

ciety has collected £13,000 as a special fund for sending twenty more missionaries to India. The Wesleyans have sent three missionaries to British Columbia, and several more to India, in which latter country their schools have largely increased the number of pupils. The members and friends of THE EVANGELICAL ALLIANCE held a well-attended meeting on October 26th and the following days, in Liverpool, in which city it was commenced thirteen years ago. The catalogue of topics and the names of the promoters, among whom are several bishops of the Established Church, assign to this conference an importance not enjoyed by any previous purely British assembly convened by the Evangelical Alliance. THE WESLEYAN CONFERENCE, which met in Hull, had a long discussion on the practice of reading sermons. Rev. W. Arthur expressed himself strongly against it, and the Conference, though not passing any resolution on the subject, seemed generally to share the opinion, that the practice of reading must never become the practice of Methodism. The increase of Church members during the year in Great Britain was announced as 6,996, and 22,611 on trial; and it was resolved to address memorials to the government against the desecration of the Lord's day by measures of the government, and against the policy of the government with regard to India. The autumnal session of THE CONGREGATIONAL UNION OF ENGLAND AND WALES was held toward the close of October, at Halifax, Yorkshire, and was characterized by an entire absence of controversy. The revivals in the United States furnished the chief topic, and gave a tone to the meeting.

The Roman Catholic Church.—THE JOURNEY OF CARDINAL WISEMAN IN IRELAND has blessed that country, for the first time for three centuries, with the presence of a prince of the Church; and all Ireland, to use O'Connell's expression, "from Connemara to the Hill of Howth," has welcomed his presence by those demonstrations of enthusiasm which only Celts and Yankees can display. The allegiance of the people to him, and to the cause of which he stood forth the living embodiment, was indeed roused to an unwonted pitch. In the matter of the

IRISH COLLEGE IN PARIS, the Roman Propaganda has come to the conclusion that the rectorship shall be given to one of the Irish Vincentians, who, though living in community, are secular priests. The archbishops are to draw up a new body of rules for the government of the college, and one of the Irish bishops will in future visit it as delegate from the whole of the prelates.

GERMANY.

Protestantism. — The sixteenth GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS SOCIETY, at Leipsic, was a proof that this society is still rapidly progressing. In several parts of Germany, as in the kingdom of Saxony and the Hungarian states, there is hardly a single congregation which does not contribute to it. A new source of income has been opened to the society by a decree of the Prussian government, which orders the taking up of a collection for the benefit of the society in all the churches of the Evangelical State Church. In consequence of this, and the growing participation of the people generally, the income has risen to more than 107,000 thalers, by which three hundred and eighty poor congregations, of which two hundred and twenty-five are in Germany, have been assisted in building church or school. THE CHURCH DIET, which met this year in Hamburg, in order to be present at the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Rugged House of Dr. Wichern, was largely attended from all parts of Germany. Among the topics which were discussed in the usual thorough manner of the German Church Diets, we mention The Union of Civil and Ecclesiastical Offices, The Duties of Larger Cities with regard to the Poor, The Rests of Paganism in the Life and Views of the German People, and the Duty of the Church with regard to them. For the first time in its history, the Church Diet met, on the part of the city where it assembled, with a very unfriendly reception, and only two of the city churches were obtained from their trustees, with difficulty, for the holding of evening services. AN ASSEMBLY OF PROMINENT LUTHERANS was held on August 18th and 19th, at Rothenmoor, in Mecklenburg, under the presidency of Professor Huschke. The party finds itself in a very unfavorable position, since it has not only to contend against all the other religious denominations of Germany, for bounding off its territory and

doctrine from those of other Churches by a broad boundary line, but also against various dissensions in its own midst. The Reformed Church is more successful than the Lutheran in its effort to bring about a confederacy of the several Reformed State Churches, and the last annual REFORMED CONFERENCE, held at Elberfeld on June 3 and 4, witnessed a real progress in the consolidation of the Church, which now only begins to awake to a consciousness how large a portion of her territory, from want of organization, has been occupied since the beginning of this century by Lutheranism. THE SOCIETY FOR COLLECTING THE PEOPLE OF GOD IN PALESTINE, a mystic sect, which has some offshoots also in this country, had a gathering at Cranstadt, in Wirtemberg, and heard a report of the three deputies who had been sent on a tour of exploration to the Promised Land, whose condition they had found, however, as unsatisfactory for their purpose as the state of the finances of the society is. Many of the leaders of the Free Congregations and German Catholics, as Uhlich, Rupp, Wislicenus, Czersky, and Baltzer, met at Gotha, on September 8 and 9, in a FREE CONGREGATIONAL COUNCIL. As in nearly every German state these congregations are struggling for a more toleration, it is impossible to ascertain their present strength. They have no established creed, but are floating between Deism, Atheism, and Pantheism.

The Roman Catholic Church. — THE CATHOLIC ASSOCIATIONS held, this year, their General Assembly at Cologne, on September 6th and the following day. In many respects this may be regarded as the most important General Assembly which the Catholic Associations have held as yet. The attendance, both of deputies from abroad and of the people of Cologne and the neighboring country, was unusually large. It was presided over by August Reichensperger, a distinguished orator of the Second Prussian Chamber, and for some time its vice-president. Among the speeches those of Peter Reichensperger, who is, like his brother, a prominent member of the Prussian Parliament, and has been recently promoted to a seat in the highest judicial court of Prussia, and of Professor Walter, of Bonn, are mentioned by the German press as being the most remarkable. The members of the General Assembly participated, as a body, in the festivities accompanying the consecration of a statue in honor of the

immaculate conception of the Virgin Mary. The procession held on this occasion, and in which also the mayor of the city, the city councils, the trades, and an immense crowd of people took part, is said to have been the greatest that Cologne, the German Rome, has seen for many years. The next General Assembly will be held either at Freiburg, in Baden, or at Prague, in Austria. Several Bavarian cities desired to invite the General Assembly, but the design was abandoned, because it was considered as certain that the king, who is not a friend of the Catholic associations, would refuse the permission. **THE CATHOLIC CHURCH OF AUSTRIA** has declared her intention to revive the regular celebration of the Provincial Synods, which, though ordered by the General Council of Trent, had fallen into disuse in Austria for nearly two hundred years. There is no doubt that the observance of this law will tie the connection of Austria with Rome closer. **THE JESUITS** have again attracted the attention of Germany to a high degree. While there is a want of priests in most Austrian dioceses, and also in many of the religious orders, they have a large overplus of novices. Their colleges are thronged with the children of the nobility of Austria, Bavaria, and other parts of Germany. They have also continued to hold missions in the larger Protestant cities, and in many a place have had a hard struggle against the Rationalistic views which still prevail in the population of most German towns.

SWITZERLAND.

Protestantism. — **THE NINETEENTH ASSEMBLY OF THE HELVETIC PREACHERS' ASSOCIATION**, which was held at Aarau, on August 17 and 18, occupied itself principally with the question, How far a greater union between the various State Churches is desirable, and by what means it can be brought about? It was generally conceded that "the advancement of infidelity, the extension of the sects, and the encroachments of Rome," made a greater union than exists at present desirable. Regular conferences of the State Churches, as they were held for the first time in Zurich on April 27 and 28 of the present year, were unanimously recommended as the best means for arriving at the union. But various opinions existed as to the question how far it would be desirable, for the present, to carry the idea of centralization. Some

speakers advocated the organization of a Helvetic Synod as the Supreme Legislative Board for the Reformed Churches, but this seemed to the majority, at least, premature, and it was thought best to aim for the present only at obtaining for the State Church, of every canton, a Presbyterian constitution. The entire separation of Church and State had few, if any, friends among the clergy; but, on the other hand, no one contested the opinion of Professor Hagenbach, that every Protestant Church ought to have a constitution of her own, and not be entirely governed by the State, as is, for example, still the case in the canton of Basel. A proposition to change, by inviting the laity generally, the Preachers' Association into a Church Diet, after the model of that of Germany, was rejected as too radical. **THE YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATIONS** of the whole world, held a General Assembly at Geneva, where important questions, with regard to the condition of the youth, and the means of bringing the rising generation more effectually under the influence of Christianity, were discussed. The great religious ANNIVERSARIES AT BASEL had the same grand and impressive character as in former years, and the missionary society of that city has recently received a rich legacy of four hundred thousand francs. The question of an entire SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE has been recently agitated in the cantons of Vaud and Neuchâtel, and in both cases two parties, very much opposed to each other in other points, the conservative friends of the free Evangelical Churches, and the ultra radical patrons of Atheism, have united in demanding it. In neither case have they been successful, but in both they have succeeded in wrenching some concessions from the friends of a rigid State Churchism. The attitude of the cantonal governments with regard to the INDEPENDENT RELIGIOUS DENOMINATIONS is still wavering between toleration and intolerance, but the old laws of Switzerland are generally maintained in their full rigor against the Mormons, who have succeeded in several places, as Berne and Zurich, to collect congregations.

The Roman Catholic Church. — **THE PIUS OR CATHOLIC ASSOCIATIONS**, which effected last year, after the example of Germany, a national organization, held their first General Assembly in August, at Stanz, in the canton of Unterwalden. The number of branch associations was

reported as amounting to fifty-four. The Catholic associations declared as their primary objects for the present, to raise funds for establishing Catholic Churches in Protestant countries, and for providing poor candidates of the priesthood with the means to secure a theological education, to assist the bishops in establishing *seminaria puerorum*, which are still wanting in almost all the Swiss dioceses, to circulate Catholic books, and to establish in every parish a parochial library. The number of CATHOLIC COLLEGES will soon be increased, as the institutions at Freiburg and Brieg, which, before 1847, were under the charge of the Jesuits, will soon be reopened. The Catholic college at Schwytz, which was founded a few years ago by Father Theodosius, an enterprising Capuchin monk, and the most active priest of Catholic Switzerland, counts at present seventeen professors and two hundred pupils. THE CONFLICTS BETWEEN THE POPE AND SEVERAL CANTONS continue. The Grand Council of Tessin has refused to acknowledge the spiritual authority of the new Bishop of Como, and the Federal government to sustain the appeal of the bishop. The canton of Aargau has wrenched from the Bishop of Solothurn and the Pope a concession in the question of mixed marriages, (between Catholics and Protestants,) the priests being now directed to publish the bans of all such marriages, even if the education of the children in the Catholic Church has not been promised. The government of Berne has resolved not to permit the Bishop of Freiburg to exercise episcopal jurisdiction in the city of Berne, but to demand from the Pope the reception of the Catholic congregation of the capital into the diocese of Basel, to which the greater part of the canton of Berne belongs.

SCANDINAVIA.

Protestantism. — The Protestant press has a right to point with pride to the almost unanimous condemnation of the INTOLERANT ECCLESIASTICAL LEGISLATION OF SWEDEN by the other Protestant Churches. After the example of France, energetic declarations have been made by Belgium, England, and America. In Belgium the synod of the Evangelical Church has expressed, without a dissenting voice, its concurrence with the protests of the French Protestant Churches, and in England an address to the same effect has been numerously signed by the

bishops of the Established Church, by peers, members of Parliament, and other distinguished persons. The efforts of the friends of religious liberty, and in particular of the Protestant press, have not been fruitless; but there are hopeful signs that even the government of Sweden itself begins to be ashamed of the exceptional position which, among Protestant nations, it sustains to the question of religious liberty.

FRANCE.

The Roman Catholic Church. — THE JOURNEY OF THE EMPEROR through a part of France, and in particular through the Bretagne, the most Catholic of all French provinces, has given to the clergy an opportunity to rally round him in extraordinary numbers, and to overwhelm him with their ovations. However objectionable some features in the policy of Louis Napoleon may appear to them, they cannot but recognize with gratitude that the greater influence which they now exercise on large classes of the people, and especially on the schools, is mostly owing to the patronage of the government. The emperor has raised their hopes still higher by making, in a public address, the emphatic remark that France must always preserve its Catholic character. That is a more serious admission on the part of the State than the government of Louis Philippe ever made. THE LAWSUIT AGAINST COUNT MONTALEMBERT, which the government has instituted on account of a sharp criticism of the count on the Napoleonic regime, will not jeopardize the good harmony between the emperor and the majority of the French clergy; for Montalembert has long ceased to be looked upon as the eloquent champion of the Church, and is himself so disgusted with the political subserviency of the clergy and the present leaders of the Catholic party, that he severs every day more the ties which formerly connected him with that party. THE INTEREST IN FOREIGN MISSIONS, which characterizes the French Catholics, is continually increasing. Of the strength of this interest some idea may be formed from the fact that, during July and August, four corporations, the *Seminaire des Missions Etrangères*, the Congregation of Piepus, the Society of Marists, and the Order of Notre Dame de Zion, sent about seventy of their members as missionaries into foreign countries.

Protestantism. — THE SECRET SPREADING OF BAPTIST PRINCIPLES among

the clergy of the Reformed State Church, which has long occupied the attention of the Church authorities, has at length induced the consistory of Nantes to depose Pastor Robineau, of Angers, on account of his views on Pædo-Baptism. The opinions of the orthodox clergy on the expediency of this measure are greatly divided, some maintaining that the holding of Baptist views is inconsistent with the position of a clergyman of the National Reformed Church, and that it is the duty of the proper authorities to suppress them, while others think that as long as the struggle of the evangelical party of the Church against the rationalistic is not brought to a successful end, the Church ought not to deprive herself of the services of any pious evangelical minister who feels free in his conscience to remain in connection with the Reformed Church. **THE PERSECUTION OF PROTESTANTISM in the interior of France** is far from being at an end. In some cases such affairs end satisfactorily, on appeal to the state ministry and the emperor, as in Maubeuge, where the imprisonment of the pastor, with that of his colleagues, has cost the prefect, the sub-prefect, and the mayor their places. But new cases of violence and persecution occur every month. Thus Protestant worship has been interdicted at Labaume and Saint Quentin, (Gard,) where service had been held for a long time past by the National Reformed Church.

ITALY.

Roman Catholic Church. — **THE PRINCIPLES OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH WITH REGARD TO RELIGIOUS LIBERTY** have been recently exemplified by an extraordinary event. On June 23d, an officer of the Papal police appeared at the house of Mr. Mortara, a Jew of Bologna, to demand the surrender of one of his sons, because he had been secretly baptized by a Christian servant girl. The boy, who is eight years old, was taken to a convent of the Dominicans, where he will be educated. All the efforts of the disconsolate father to recover his child have been fruitless. Several Catholic governments of Europe have been prevailed upon to espouse the cause of the paternal rights of Jewish parents against the canonical laws of the Catholic Church, but likewise in vain. The political press of Europe has not been remiss in the defense of the sacred rights of parents, and for several weeks the Mortara affair has occupied a prominent place in their columns. But all the organs of the

Catholic party (and this is an important fact worth recording) have placed themselves, as they cannot help doing in every case, on the side of the Pope, either openly vindicating to the Catholic Church the right to snatch Jewish children, who have been secretly baptized, from their parents, or observing a profound silence. The history of the Mortara affair, compared with that of the Swedish women, exiled on account of their reception into the Catholic Church is, therefore, a new striking exemplification of the relation which Catholicism and Protestantism sustain generally to the question of religious liberty. Great preparations are made by the Pope and the superiors of the monastic orders in Rome, to improve the opportunities which the recent treaty of China with the Christian powers offers to the Christian religion. **NEW MISSIONS** will be organized on a grand scale, and every Catholic country will be called upon to send its contingent of missionaries.

Protestantism. — The last annual **SYNOD OF THE WALDENSES** took place at La Tour, from May 18 to 23. It was complained that formalism and spiritual death prevailed in many congregations, and the means were discussed by which the Christian life in the valleys might be strengthened. The Synod was attended by deputies from the Free Church of Scotland, and it was resolved to invite also the Walloon Churches of Holland, the Free Church of the canton of Vaud, and the Union of the Evangelical Churches of France, to send representatives in future. The last reports on the **EVANGELIZATION OF ITALY** are very favorable. The Waldenses receive applications for spiritual aid from all parts of Italy. The misunderstandings which for some time existed between the Waldenses and the Italian Committee of Evangelization, have been removed. The number of Protestants is especially increasing in the Grand Duchy of Tuscany, and the persecution against them has for a while ceased. After the example of other parts of Italy, the Protestant foreigners in Sicily are beginning to be more intent upon establishing permanent Protestant congregations, and some progress has been made in this respect in Palermo and Messina.

SPAIN AND PORTUGAL.

The Roman Catholic Church. — **THE PRESENT MINISTRY OF SPAIN**, under the presidency of General O'Donnell, is considered as less favorable to the claims of the Catholic Church than its

predecessors, and as devotedly opposed to any extension of her privileges. As a majority of the newly elected Cortes sides with the ministry, it is not unlikely that new conflicts with Rome will soon take place. No stop, however, has as yet been put to the persecution of Protestantism in Spain and in the Spanish colonies. In Fernando Po, a Spanish possession in Africa, a flourishing Baptist mission has been destroyed by a proclamation of the new governor, forbidding the public exercise of any other religion than the Roman Catholic. In Portugal the AVERSION TO MONASTIC ORDERS, which animates a large class of the population, has given rise to a tumult at Lisbon. A congregation of French Sisters of Charity, having been accused of using its schools in the interest of the detested cause of Don Miguel, has been mobbed. The king has been petitioned by the liberal party to suppress this first advance of reviving monasticism, and by many friends of the incriminated congregation, among whom are several members of the royal family, to protect the victims of a fanatic infidelity. The young monarch has not yet found the courage to take a decided stand in the

matter. The schools of the sisters have been closed, and a committee has been appointed, with the Patriarch of Lisbon as president, to deliberate if any reforms can be introduced in the congregation of Portuguese sisters of charity. The patriarch, however, who mistrusts the dispositions of the majority of the committee, hesitates to take part in its sittings.

Protestantism.—While the progress which Protestantism is continually making in the kingdom of Spain itself must be kept secret, from fear of new persecution, an important MOVEMENT TOWARD PROTESTANTISM is openly going on among the Spaniards who are no longer subjects of her Catholic majesty. In Gibraltar a flourishing Baptist congregation has been formed of former members of the Catholic Church, under the auspices of the Free Church of Scotland, by Senor Ruet, himself a convert from the Catholic Church; and in the Algerian province of Oran about one hundred Spanish colonists have joined the Protestant Church in a short time, and made the necessary preparations for establishing evangelical worship in their language.

ART. X.—SYNOPSIS OF THE QUARTERLIES.

I.—*American Quarterly Reviews.*

- I. BIBLIOTHECA SACRA AND BIBLICAL REPOSITORY, October, 1858.—1. Meshakah on Skepticism: 2. The Conflict of Trinitarianism and Unitarianism in the Ante-Nicene Age: 3. Baptism a Symbol of the Commencement of the New Life: 4. Homeric Ideas of the Soul and a Future Life: 5. Caprices and Laws of Literature: 6. The Representative System in the Constitution of Moses: 7. Sacred Traditions in the East.
- II. THE NEW ENGLANDER, November, 1858.—1. James A. Hillhouse: 2. The Number Seven: 3. Translations, and their Influence upon Scholarship: 4. The Divine Love of Truth and Beauty exemplified in the Material Creation: 5. Results of the Increased Facility and Celerity of Inter-communication: 6. Art Exhibition in Yale College: 7. Rational Cosmology: 8. Dr. Cleaveland's Anniversary Sermon: 9. Self-supporting Missionary Colonization: 10. The High-School Policy of Massachusetts: 11. Dr. Thompson's Memoir of Stoddard.
- III.—THE CHRISTIAN REVIEW, October, 1858.—1. The Authorship of the Epistle of Jude: 2. Yoruba Proverbs: 3. Hackett's Acts: 4. Plato on Atheism: 5. Basil an Important Witness respecting Baptism in the Fourth Century: 6. The New American Cyclopædia: 7. The Religious Element in Human Nature: 8. The Efficacy of Prayer.

- IV. THE BIBLICAL REPERTORY, October, 1858.—1. Jonathan Edwards and the Successive Forms of New Divinity: 2. De Tocqueville and Lieber, as Writers on Political Science: 3. The Life of Cardinal Mezzofanti: 4. Harrison on the Greek Prepositions: 5. Adoption of the Confession of Faith: 6. The Revised Book of Discipline.
- V. THE THEOLOGICAL AND LITERARY JOURNAL, October, 1858.—1. Christ the Saviour only of Mankind: 2. Thoughts on the Revival of Eighteen Hundred and Fifty-eight: 3. Notes on Scripture—Matthew ix.—xiii.: 4. The Sufferings and Death of Believers, their Disembodied Life, and their Resurrection: 5. Expositions of Portions of Scripture for the Aid of Bible Classes. The Miracles and Preaching of the Day of Pentecost: 6. Dr. Barth's Travels in Africa: 7. Dr. Rice's Objections to the Doctrine of Christ's Premillennial Advent.
- VI. THE SOUTHERN PRESBYTERIAN REVIEW, October, 1858.—1. Symmetry and Beauty of God's Witnessing Church: 2. A Reasonable Answer to the Skeptic: 3. Our Domestic Missions—The True Theory of their Conduct and Management: 4. Halsey's Literary Attractions of the Bible: 5. The Conversion of the World: 6. Christianity a Disciplinary Element in an Education: 7. Stuart Robinson's Church of God.
- VII. UNIVERSALIST QUARTERLY AND GENERAL REVIEW, October, 1858.—23. Speculative and Practical Universalism: 24. The Doctrine of Necessity: 25. Universalism Revealed in the Four Gospels: 26. Dante and St. Paul: 27. The Lost Senses.
- VIII. THE CHRISTIAN EXAMINER, November, 1858.—1. Sacrifice: 2. Cicero the Orator: 3. Unitarianism—Past, Present, and Future: 4. Giacomo Leopardi: 5. The Future of Turkey: 6. Modern Impudence.
- IX. THE MERCERSBURG REVIEW, October, 1858.—1. Reformed Synods: 2. Gnosticism: 3. Evidences of Centralization: 4. The Incarnation: 5. The Interpretation of the Parable: 6. The Ascetic System: 7. The Influence of the Early Church on the Institution of Slavery: 8. Tertullian.
- X. THE EVANGELICAL REVIEW, October, 1858.—1. Illustrations of the Wisdom and Benevolence of God derived from the Science of Meteorology: 2. Reminiscences of Lutheran Clergymen: 3. Schmid's Dogmatic of the Lutheran Church: 4. Liturgical Studies: 5. Educational Efforts of the Pennsylvania Synod: 6. Baccalaureate Address: 7. The Testimony of the Spirit: 8. Hermeneutical Manual.
- XI. THE AMERICAN QUARTERLY CHURCH REVIEW, October, 1858.—1. The Present State and Hopes of Christianity: 2. Baptism tested by Scripture and History: 3. Philosophy the Handmaid of Religion: 4. Letter to Bishop Lee, of Iowa, on Western Missions: 5. The Controversy in the Scottish Church: 6. The Rev. A. B. Chapin, D. D.: 7. Mixed Societies, in Principle and in Practice: American Ecclesiastical History: The "Proposed Book," (Continued.)
- XII. BROWNSON'S QUARTERLY REVIEW, October, 1858.—1. Conversations of our Club: 2. Catholicity in the Nineteenth Century: 3. Alice Sherwin, and the English Schism: 4. An Exposition of the Apocalypse: 5. Domestic Education.
- XIII. THE PRESBYTERIAN QUARTERLY REVIEW, October, 1858.—1. Characteristics of the Eloquence of the Pulpit: 2. Sir William Hamilton's Theory of Perception: 3. Life and Works of John Gerson: 4. Chronological Arrangement of Chapters 13-28 of the Acts of the Apostles: 5. The Modern Pilgrimage to Rome.
- XIV. THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL QUARTERLY REVIEW, October, 1858.—1. The Monuments of Lost Races: 2. Miss Sewell's late Domestic-Religious Novels: 3. Infant Baptism: 4. History of the United States: 5. Missions on the Voluntary Principle: 6. Literature of the Quarter: 7. Foreign Intelligence: 8. Diocesan Intelligence.

V. THE QUARTERLY REVIEW OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH, SOUTH.—1. John the Apostle, and his Writings: 2. Psychology: 3. Class-meetings: 4. Probationary Church-membership: 5. Mary, the Mother of our Lord: 6. The Unity of the Christian Church: 7. Natural Goodness.

V. THE FREEWILL BAPTIST QUARTERLY, October, 1858.—1. The Method in Conformity to which the Idea of God is Developed in the Scriptures: 2. The Call to the Ministry—Special: 3. The Value of the Bible: 4. The Relation of Self-Knowledge to Christian Usefulness: 5. The Holy Spirit—The Ways of Quenching its Influence: 6. The Symbolical Art of the Early Christian Church: 7. Eli, Eli, Lama Sabachthani: 8. Mohammedan Power in India: 9. Jameson on the Methodist Articles of Religion: 10. Christian Hope.

THE article on the Methodist Articles of Religion affirms that no sect is less influenced by a doctrinal basis than the Methodists, inasmuch as action rather than faith is the characteristic of our system. Yet it affirms that our doctrinal principles are by no means inefficient, and must exert an increasing influence upon our body, and through it upon the general Church.

Up to this time we had supposed that Methodism had been the standing advocate of the doctrine of free-will as a subjective and immutable attribute of the human soul. For maintaining this doctrine the Wesleys and Fletcher were assailed by the Calvinists of their day, and *Free-willer* has been an epithet laid upon us as an opprobrium, both in England and America, through most of our past history. It is for this reason that we feel much refreshed when the present writer relieves us of this burden, and reveals to us the fact that the truest advocates of free-will are found "among the Calvinistic sects!" Our reviewer holds this view, *first*, because no Methodist author has, like Tappan, Mahan, and others, written a separate treatise on free-will; and *second*, because we hold that the depravity produced by the fall has obstructed our original and natural freedom. This fact, namely, that the inherent freedom of the will is overlaid by the effects of the fall, we understand him to deny; and thus, so far as we can see, he is on that point Pelagian. Into this position we imagine our Freewill Baptist friends are led, to our great regret, by the Pelagianizing writings of Taylor, Tappan, Mahan, etc.; for we did suppose that the Freewill Baptists of thirty years ago coincided on this point with Methodism. Methodism holds that man is, by creation and by his true nature, *free*, just as truly, firmly, and clearly as Dr. Mahan or this reviewer. But under the influence of that spiritual death, superinduced "by one man that sinned," we believe that the *will* with the other faculties has suffered. The power "to will and to do" we believe that "God works within us;" and by that gracious power it is that we must "work out our own salvation;" and upon our free refusal to do that "work" final condemnation results. Hence we believe that man is both *naturally free* and *graciously free*; *naturally free* by original constitution; *graciously free* by a provision overlying the bondage wrought by the fall.

His statement that Methodism has as yet furnished no separate work on the will is obviated by his previous remark, that our system has been developed less by theological production than by action. Our Theodice, as stated by our standards, is based upon the doctrine of free-will; and we trust the time is not far distant when a separate work on this point will demonstrate the fact.

II.—Foreign Reviews.

- I. THE QUARTERLY REVIEW, October, 1858.—1. The Arundel Society.—Fresco Painting: 2. Horace and his Translators: 3. Wiseman's Last Four Popes: 4. James Watt: 5. The Roman at his Farm: 6. Sir Charles Napier's Career in India: 7. The Past and Present Administrations.
- II. THE EDINBURGH REVIEW, October, 1858.—1. The Greenville, Portland, and Perceval Administrations: 2. Criminal Procedure in Scotland and England: 3. Birch's History of Ancient Pottery: 4. M. Guizot's Historical Memoirs: 5. Binocular Vision: 6. The Earls of Kildare: 7. Mr. Gladstone's Homeric Studies: 8. Guy Livingstone: 9. The Slave Trade in 1858: 10. Mr. Froude's Reply to the Edinburgh Review.
- III. THE NATIONAL REVIEW, October, 1858.—1. Carlyle's Life of Frederick the Great: 2. The Relations of France and England: 3. The Sculptures from Halicarnassus in the British Museum: 4. Woman: 5. Russian Literature and Alexander Pushkin: 6. The Great Rebellion: Mr. Sanford and Mr. Forster: 7. Mr. Trollope's Novels: 8. The Zouave and kindred Languages: 9. Charles Dickens: 10. Professional Religion: 11. Note in Answer to Colonel Mure.
- IV. THE CHRISTIAN REMEMBRANCER, October, 1858.—1. Science and Revelation: 2. Blunt on the Early Fathers: 3. Gladstone on Homer—Historical Value of the Iliad and Odyssey: 4. Sunday Schools: 5. The Outcast and the Poor of London: 6. Fray Morgaez against the Bull *Ineffabilis*: 7. Ecclesiastical Affairs in Scotland: 8. Savonarola.
- V. THE BRITISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, October, 1858.—1. Froude's History of England: 2. The Vatican Greek Testament: 3. Calendars and Old Almanacs: 4. Wycliffe—His Biographers and Critics: 5. M. Comte's Religion for Atheists: 6. Herodotus—Rawlinson: 7. Political Party since the Revolution: 8. Our Epilogue on Affairs and Books.
- VI. THE LONDON REVIEW, October, 1858.—1. Character and Condition of the English Poor: 2. Arabian Philosophy: 3. English Dictionaries: 4. North Wales and its Scenery: 5. The Roman Alphabet applied to Eastern Languages: 6. The Last of the Alchemists: 7. Merivale's Roman History—Volume Sixth: 8. John Albert Bengel: 9. The Southern Frontier of the Russian Empire.
- VII. THE JOURNAL OF SACRED LITERATURE AND BIBLICAL RECORD, October, 1858.—1. St. Augustine: 2. The Literature of the Book of Job: 3. Free Theological Inquiry: 4. Expository Remarks on 1 John v, 4-9: 5. The Exegesis of Genesis vi, 1-4: 6. A Chapter on the Church of Sweden: 7. Verification of Christian Epochs—No. 2: 8. On the Rectifications of Sacred and Profane Chronology, which the newly discovered Apis-Steles render Necessary: 9. Dr. Cureton's Syriac Gospels.

THE article on the Book of Job suggests grave doubts of the prevalent theory of the patriarchal antiquity of that book. The Exegesis of Genesis vi, 1-4, contains a very able argument against the modern theory that the "sons of God" were the race of Seth, and maintains, with no little force, the ancient interpretation that they were angels from whose illicit intercourse with the "daughters of men" giants were born. If he does not demonstrate the old interpretation, beyond all doubt, he certainly makes it clear that philology, antiquity, and natural construction are all on that side, and nothing but the extraordinary nature of the narrative resulting from such an interpretation is against it.

Dr. William Cureton has lately published "Remains of a very Ancient Ro-

cension of the Four Gospels in Syriac hitherto unknown in Europe." With the Syriac Text Dr. Cureton has furnished a translation, attaining as far as possible the literal equivalent of the Syriac words in their own order. This version Dr. Cureton holds to be perhaps the nearest approximation to the very vernacular of the Saviour and his apostles. Nay it may be in the main the original Hebrew Gospel of St. Matthew!

The article on Dr. Cureton's Syriac Gospels is written by Rev. P. N. Land, Doctor of Theology of the National Reformed Church in Holland, now employed by the Dutch government on the Syriac MSS. in the British Museum. The Dutch doctor deals unceremoniously with his English brother. He freely admits that Dr. Cureton has furnished a very perfect copy of the Syriac Text; but there his merit ends. Dr. Cureton's scholarship and judgment in Syriac philology are impugned; his notions of the high value of the manuscript repudiated, and his translation held of little worth. In the *Intelligence* department of the *Journal of Sacred Literature* the subject is resumed, in an extract from the *Literary Churchman*, in which Dr. Cureton is no less sharply treated. The claim that the present Recension is identical with Matthew's original Hebrew Gospel is attacked, on the grounds that the existence of such a Hebrew original is problematical, and also on the grounds that the coincidences on which the identification is based are unsatisfactory.

VIII. THE WESTMINSTER REVIEW, October, 1858.—1. France under Louis Napoleon: 2. Indian Heroes: 3. F. W. Newman, and his Evangelical Critics: 4. Travel during the Last Half Century: 5. The Calas Tragedy: 6. Realism in Art: Recent German Fiction: 7. Outbreak of the English Revolution—1642.

The first article of this Quarterly is a very extended exposure of the wickedness of the imperial regime of Napoleon Third. There is, of course, no difficulty for a much less able hand than this reviewer to make out a dark case. But the true causes lying at the basis of Napoleon's power, and which render it questionable whether he is not the best thing in the way of a ruler of which France is capable, the reviewer has no heart to develop. France wants the moral basis for stable freedom. The dark superstition of Romanism on one hand, and the licentious skepticism of the Westminster stamp on the other hand, have abolished from the character of her people, and especially of her intellectual classes, the ethical foundations of all rational liberty. Some of her calmest thinkers, like Jouffroy, have fully realized this, and from the depths even of their own remediless skepticism have pealed forth the cry that the want of the age, without which it is lost, is the restoration of a firm religious faith. The philosophers of the Westminster Review are endeavoring to stop the melancholy conflagration by piling on fuel.

The article on Francis W. Newman endeavors, with no ordinary skill, to show three things: First, Mr. Newman's successive rejection of article after article of evangelical Christianity until he had nothing left but a pious Theism, founded mainly upon the sentiments, was the calm process of a logical mind, eliminating the false from the true, and of a pure spirit expurgating the evil from the good. Second, the counter-arguments of Mr. Newman's Christian opponents were unfair in logic and immoral in temper. Third, the residuum of Mr. Newman's creed is just as unsustainable as parts he has rejected. It is

only hypothetically and subjectively true; that is, positively and universally untrue.

The whole argument will very differently affect different minds. To us it stands a reduction of Mr. Newman *ad absurdum*. Religion, the Bible, stands in accordance, indeed, with our highest sentiments, yet based upon historical authentication. Reject that basis, and found it upon the sentiments, and you build a structure on the billows.

There is no English Quarterly whose review of current literature vies with that of the Westminster in fullness, freshness, and personal life. That section of the Review is divided into the several great departments of productive thought, and each department is placed under the charge of a thorough master, able as a writer to invest it with interest. Each department is exhaustively treated, and the progress of higher mind is thus reported, colored, indeed, with partisan views, yet traced with a master hand.

IX. THEOLOGISCHE STUDIEN UND KRITIKEN. Eine Zeitschrift für das gesammte Gebiet der Theologie, in Verbindung mit Dr. J. Müller, Dr. Nitzsch und Dr. Rothe. Herausgegeben von Dr. C. Ullmann und Dr. F. W. C. Umbreit. Jahrgang, 1858, viertes Heft. Gotha, bei Friedrich Andreas Perthes, 1858. *Abhandlungen*.—1. Wolff, Versuch, die Widersprüche in den Jahrreihen der Könige Juda's und Israel's und andere Differenzen in der biblischen Chronologie auszugleichen: 2. Werner, über Ehescheidung und über den Eid auf Christlichem Standpunkt. *Gedanken und Bemerkungen*.—1. Reichel, die 70 Jahrwochen, Daniel, cap. 9. v. 24—27: 2. Tiele, Beweis, dass Lukas, der Evangelist und Verfasser der Apostelgeschichte, von Geburt ein Jude war. *Recensimen*.—1. Vierordt, Geschichte der Evangelischen Kirchen in dem Grossherzogthum Baden; rec. von Holtzmann: 2. Hamberger, Oetinger's Theologie aus der Idee des Lebens abgeleitet; rec. von Köster.

THEOLOGICAL STUDIES AND CRITIQUES. Published by Drs. Ullmann and Umbreit. Gotha, 1858. *Treatises*.—1. An Attempt to Harmonize the Contradictions in the Series of Years of the Kings of Judah, Israel, and other Differences in Biblical Chronology. By O. Wolff: 2. On Divorce and Oaths from a Christian Standpoint. By M. C. G. Werner. *Thoughts and Observations*.—1. The Seventy Weeks mentioned in Daniel ix, 24—27. By H. L. Reichel: 2. Proof that Luke, the Evangelist and Writer of the Acts of the Apostles, was a Jew by Birth. By J. N. Tiele. *Reviews*.—1. Vierordt's History of the Evangelical Church in the Grand Duchy of Baden. By J. Holtzmann: 2. Oetinger's Theology derived from the Idea of Life. By Adolph Köster.

THE Studien und Kritiken, with its three divisions, reminds us very forcibly of one of the old Dutch pictures with folding doors before it to hide it from vulgar eyes. When the sacristan unlocks it and opens wide the doors, behold three pictures, one in the middle and one on each door. This number manifests real German research, and every page is worthy of a close reading. The article on Biblical Chronology breathes an evangelical spirit, and it is refreshing to read such a one when we remember that this has been the theme of so many bold attacks of the Rationalists. The writer acknowledges the difficulty of his task by introducing the various conjectures as to the time of the division of the kingdom of Israel after Solomon's death. Morer dates it 933 B.C.; Von Gumpach, 937; Seyffarth, 950; Winer and Schlosser, 975; Clinton, 976; Thenius, 977; Bunsen, 978; and Ewald at 985—6. With true German pen-pluck the writer declares that the difficulties are not insurmountable—*keinesweges unüberwindlich*. In order to reconcile the Biblical accounts, he

divides his field of inquiry into three periods. 1. From the first year of the reign of Rehoboam and Jeroboam to the murder of Ahaziah and Jehoram. 2. From the first year of the reign of Jehu and Athaliah to the downfall of the kingdom of Israel in the sixth year of the reign of Hezekiah and the ninth of Hosea. 3. From the downfall of the kingdom of Israel to the end of the kingdom of Judah, 586 B.C. To fill up these spaces is the chief labor of the writer. The first he proves to be of 95 years duration, the second of 165, the third of $123 = 383$ years. Then he grants to Saul 21 years, to David 40, and to Solomon $40 = 101$. The duration of the kingdom of Israel must therefore be $383 + 101 = 484$ years, or from 1070 B.C. to 586 B.C. The writer concludes with an effort to fix the dates of the Babylonian exile. His inference is that the exile commenced 605 B.C., and ended 535 B.C.; or, as Jeremiah had predicted, xxv, 1, 2, 9-12. The article might have been embraced in less pages, but German prolixity is tolerable when a respect for the Bible is apparent.

The essay on Divorce and Oaths is original and free from verbosity. The author undertakes to explain the teaching of Christ in both cases. He lays down two propositions. 1. That Christ permitted the right of divorce in cases of *πορνεία μωχεία*. 2. In all other cases, for example, where mere *σκληροκαρδία* is given as excuse, he declares himself against it. The author argues that if people have a full sense of the importance of marriage, what it means and enjoins, they should never be divorced, for "what God hath joined together let no man put asunder." But many get married whom God hath not joined together. *Ergo*, man can put them asunder. But Christ only gave his consent. He did not *enjoin* divorce in any case. Kant held that matrimony is an institution merely founded on the laws of nature and society. A. Müller considered it a mere legal relation, and Apel (1799) degrades it to *societas hæredum quærendorum causa inita*. Fichte says: "Matrimony is a perfect union founded on sexual love." Alas, that great minds sometimes recognize no higher law than expediency! The performance of the rite of matrimony by civil authorities is objected to on the ground that it diminishes the sacredness of the obligation. Persons thus married are recommended to hasten to church at once and be married by one of God's authorities. Many mischievous and absurd opinions that have originated in France have found a lodgment in Germany, but happily the laxity with which the French regard matrimony has kept its own side of the Rhine. But it is for the future to reveal the influence of the writings of Sue, Dumas, and Balzac. They are read to an alarming extent in Protestant Germany, and the next quarter of a century may show their blighting touch upon the sanctity with which the Germans now regard the matrimonial relation. The remainder of the article treats of oaths. They are objected to in toto. The author thinks that if they were not allowed to be used in the ancient Jewish service, for example, offerings, we have no right to make use of them in court-rooms. Gössel terms oaths a necessary evil. Dr. Werner thinks them productive of more evil than good, however, and hopes earnestly, with Rothe, that all promissory oaths may be done away with.

The next article is an elucidation of the mysterious four verses that conclude the ninth chapter of Daniel. Havernich and Hengstenberg are cited as the best authorities. Truly, *tempora mutantur*, must the Straussians groan.

The paper on Luke is argumentative and satisfactory. The good Neander and Otto von Gerlach had told us that Luke was a heathen by birth, but Pastor Tiele quite unsettles us again. The arguments in favor of his being a heathen by birth have been founded on the purity of his Greek; and J. D. Michaelis affirms that he wrote a more classical Greek than any other evangelist. Notwithstanding all this, the writer adduces very many Hebraisms from the Gospel of Luke and the Acts of the Apostles.

The next article is a laudation of *Vierordt's History of the Evangelical Church of Baden*. When the University of Heidelberg conferred the degree of D.D. on the author of this work, he was termed the Eusebius of Baden Church history. The history of the Church of Baden he divides into three periods. The first extends from 1517 to 1571 or from the entrance of the Reformation to the suppression of the Evangelical Church in Baden Baden. The second reaches to 1685, or when the Palatinate fell into Roman Catholic hands. The third extends to the present. The Grand Duchy of Baden has verily played an important rôle in the history of Protestantism.

A brief but most interesting sketch of Oetinger and his theology closes the number. Oetinger lived in the seventeenth century, and was an intimate friend of Bengel. It is only recently that attention has been excited toward his almost forgotten works. He was the theosophist of his age. His contemporaries called him the Magus of the South. Says he: "I have made the idea of life, which prevails in the Bible, the chief feature of my theology. The Bible treats of life. 1. God as the source of life. 2. Man as the conservatory of the breath of life. 3. Sin as the estrangement of life from God. 4. Of grace as the communication of new life. 5. The Church as the society where the spirit of life works. 6. The last things as the end and issue of life." "Magic," says the fantastic old man, "is the science of the friends of God. It is of secret wisdom. But it is the sublimest magic to separate yourself from yourself by means of the cross of Jesus Christ, and to bring the multitude of your thoughts into harmony with the love of Christ."

The *Studien und Kritiken* is always a welcome visitor to us, for it brings us good messages from the long-loved land of the Reformation. The tone of it is evangelical, though its contributors are not as often the Coryphees of German theology as we would wish. But the articles are almost invariably able and scholarly; and as such they afford strong nourishment for all students of God's word.

II.

X. THE NORTH BRITISH REVIEW, November, 1858. — 1. The Present State of France: 2. Translations from Sanskrit: 3. German Church Historians: 4. Oxford Aristotelianism: 5. Aquatic Zoology—Sir John G. Dalyell: 6. Decimal Coinage: 7. Novels by the Authoress of "John Halifax:" 8. Popular Education in Great Britain and Ireland: 9. Decay of Modern Satire: 10. The Atlantic Telegraph.

THE article on France gives a far more cheerful view of the condition of that nation than the first article of the Westminster.

The third article is a very able review of the principle Ecclesiastical Histories, especially produced by German scholars, Protestant and Catholic. It is pervaded by the two prevalent thoughts that England (including, doubtless, with all propriety, our own country,) has done very little in this department;

and that German ecclesiastical historians know very little of England or America. The only productions in the English worthy the subject are by Principal Campbell and Dr. Welsh. The latter of these, after having produced a single volume of a promised great work, died in his early prime. The reviewer thinks Scotland is as likely soon to see a second Chalmers as a second Welsh.

After Mosheim, the reviewer notices and characterizes Neander, Gieseler, Guericke, Hase, and Kurtz, among Protestants; and Möhler, Ritter, Wessenberg, and Böringher, among Catholics.

Neander's great fault was his want of proportion. He was carried away with his habit of monography. Favorite historical characters are spread out at great latitude; the less fortunate dwindle into miniatures. His monographs on Bernard, Tertullian, and Chrysostom are of themselves a sufficient basis for a substantial reputation.

Gieseler's modern ecclesiastical portion is eminently Germanic:

"Passing to England, we find that Gieseler confounds the Patristic Arminianism of Laud and his school with the Remonstrant Arminianism of Hales and others. He appears to suppose that the statesman and the philosopher, Lord Shaftesbury, were the same person. Not acquainted with such works as Pearson on the 'Creed,' he speaks of England during the era of his fourth volume (1648-1814) as having produced no work of systematic theology. While the worthless name of Sterne has prominence given to it, as remarkable for pulpit eloquence (!) we have no mention of Barrow, Taylor, or South, among the Churchmen, or of Howe, Bates, and Doddridge, among the Nonconformists and Dissenters. Far inferior men among the apologetic writers of England are mentioned, but of Butler not a word. Indeed, from the silence observed upon him by others, both Romanist and Protestant, it would appear that the 'Analogy' and the 'Sermons' are quite unknown to our Teutonic friends.

"In this part of his History also, Gieseler leaves out of view the missionary efforts both of Churchmen and of Dissenters, both in England and Scotland. In the subsequent volume (1814-1850) we have indeed mention of the London Missionary Society; but the Church, the Baptist, the Wesleyan, the Free Church Missions are utterly ignored, while nearly half a dozen pages are assigned to the as yet very unproductive 'Bishopric of Jerusalem.' Again, while some space is given to English Methodism, the almost National church of the Welsh Calvinistic Methodists is utterly left out of view.

"Nor has Gieseler made up for his imperfectness in the treatment of English Church History by any better acquaintance with the annals of our brethren in the United States. He says of American Christianity in general, (v. 372:) 'In business their dishonesty is so frequent as to be made the matter of universal reproach among other nations; the citizens of the northeast provinces, New York, Pennsylvania, who are most distinguished by an external piety, are also most notorious for their cheating propensities. Their religiousness shows itself in no way by benevolent actions; and, therefore, cannot be as hearty as it is loud in profession.' These sentences are of themselves enough to show that Gieseler knew little about the Home and Foreign Missionary enterprises of our transatlantic brethren. What has been done by them in India, Burmah, the South Sea Islands, is never mentioned. In respect of theological instruction, he says (p. 376) 'the measure given is very scanty.' The names of Andover and Princeton are of themselves sufficient to refute the statement. The *American Theological Reviews* also, had they been known to Gieseler, would have furnished indisputable proof of the inaccuracy of his assertion. He speaks of the Unitarians as the most numerous party among the cultivated classes, which is true only of Boston and its vicinity. Of Edwards, Dwight, Woods, as theologians; of Moses Stuart as an exegete; of Payson, Nettleton, and Spencer, as preachers and pastors; of the Abbotts, and other popular religious authors, we have not a word."

Of Hase, whose history has been translated in this country by Wing and Blumenbach, we quote the following remarks:

"Has the reader ever perused Dean Milman's work, the History of Anticene and Latin Christianity? If not, the nine volumes, except to those who, with Dr. Chalmers, shrink from 'a big book,' are well worth reading. The non-German scholar who has made himself acquainted with the Dean's history, has a good idea, not indeed of the style, but of the spirit of Hase. What Milman is on a large scale for a part of Church History, that the Jena Professor is, in a condensed form, for the whole of it. The same all-sided cultivation, the same literary power, the same pictorial treatment, and the same lowness and vagueness of theological view.

"Yet, of all Church Histories, this is the one most suited to the general reader. No one will ever weary over Hase's pages. In the least interesting periods, the felicity of his style, and the vigor of his painting, carry him triumphantly over the ground. No German writer is more difficult to translate, from the very excellences of a literary character which he uniformly displays. Though his book is only a single octavo volume of about eight hundred pages, it contains full, though condensed, information on many points which historians of much greater amplitude of narrative have passed over or treated but by the way. The work of Guericke, for example, is more than twice as large as that of Hase, but the latter will inform on not a few points, for which the former will be appealed to in vain. The Jena professor, however, is sadly deficient in the devout spirit of Guericke. The Godward aspect is ever seen in Guericke, but the manward has never been more brilliantly presented than in Hase."

Of Dr. Kurtz, Professor of Theology at Dorpat, he says:

"The compendium before us is that book on Church History which the student of German should first read. Were it translated, it ought every way to supersede Mosheim in our divinity halls. It is admirably adapted to the student's purposes, giving, in a portable form, and with great clearness of expression and vigor of touch, all that one commencing the study cares about knowing, or need, at that period of his studies, know. A comparatively slight expansion and correction of the British and American portions would thoroughly fit it for use to the candidate for the ministry in this country and the United States.

The article on the Decay of Modern Satire depreciates Mr. Bailey's late poem, "The Age," and places our J. R. Lowell at the head of satirists of the day.

"For many years past, satire seems to have died out altogether; and it is only within the last season or two that it has shown any tendency to revive. All at once we have a batch of small satirists—Mr. Bailey at their head—in England, and one really powerful satirist in America, namely, Mr. J. R. Lowell, whose 'Biglow Papers' we most gladly welcome, as being not only the best volume of satires since the anti-Jacobin, but as also the first work of real and efficient poetical genius which has reached us from the United States. We have been under the necessity of telling some unpleasant truths about American literature, from time to time; and it is with hearty pleasure that we are now able to own that the Britishers have been, for the present, utterly, and apparently hopelessly, beaten by a Yankee, in one important department of poetry. In the United States social and political evils have a breadth and tangibility which are not at present to be found in the condition of any other civilized country. The 'peculiar domestic institution,' the filibustering tendencies of the nation, the tyranny of a vulgar 'public opinion,' and the charlatanism which is the price of political power, are butts for the shafts of the satirist, which European poets may well envy Mr. Lowell. We do not pretend to affirm that the evils of European society may not be as great, in their own way, as those which afflict the credit of the United States—with the exception, of course, of slavery, which makes 'American freedom' deservedly the laughing-stock of the world—but what we do say is, that the evils in point have a boldness and simplicity about them, which our more

sophisticated follies have not; and, that a hundred years hence Mr. Lowell's Yankee satires will be perfectly intelligible to every one, whereas most of the subjects offered by European politics, are such as would require an explanatory commentary twenty years hence, just as is the case at present with the satires of Byron and Moore. The only subject in the social state of England at all rivaling in satiric capabilities any one of half a dozen subjects seized by the author of the 'Biglow Papers,' is the strange and portentous despotism which threatens, as usual, to arise from the very heart of freedom—a despotism, against which songs and assassins would be equally powerless, namely, that of the newspaper-press, which combines the two most fatal elements of tyranny, popularity and an enmity to all individual excellence. A newspaper is a trading speculation, which must rely for its success, in a very large measure, upon the skill with which it follows the prejudices of the many, while it appears to teach them.

"We cannot give a better example of the difference between true and false satire, than by appending to the diffuse and flabby verse of 'The Age,' the following four lines, which are the conclusion of Mr. Lowell's 'Pious Editor's Creed.'

'In short, I firmly do believe
In humbug generally;
For it's a thing that I perceive
To have a solid vally.'

"Satire at once so genial and good-humored, and yet so fatal as that of 'Ezekiel Biglow,' is, indeed, a relief after the weary platitudes which have recently appeared, under the name of satire, in England. Out of a volume, as full as it can hold, of good stuff, we shall take, almost at random, a few specimens, for the edification of that large proportion of our readers to whom this very remarkable work is probably unknown.

"There is no portion of 'Hudibras' itself which is, space for space, so abundant in fun and hard hits as the 'Remarks of Increase D. O'Phace, Esquire, at an extrumpy caucus in State-street,' from which these are stray sentences:

'I'm willin' a man should go tollable strong
Agin wrong in the abstract, for thet kind o' wrong
Is ollers unpop'lar an' never gits pitied,
Because it's a crime no one ever committed;
But he mus'nt be hard on partickler sins,
Coz then he'll be kickin' the people's own shins.

'Constitutoounts air hendy to help a man in,
But arterwards don't weigh the heft of a pin.
Wy, the people can't all live on Uncle Sam's puss,
So they've nothin' to du with't fer better or wus;
It's the folks that air kind o' brought up to depend on't,
Thet hev any consarn in't, an' thet is the end on't.'

"The reckless fun of the following lines is more like Rabelais than any other satirist:

'We'd assumed with gret skill a *commandin' position,*
On this side or thet, no one couldn't tell wick one,
So, whatever side whipped, we'd a chance at the plunder,
And could sue fer infringin' our paytented thunder;
We were ready to vote for whoever wuz eligible,
Ef on all pints at issoo he'd stay unintelligible.
Wal, sposin' we hed to gulp down our perfessions,
We were ready to come out next mornin' with fresh ones;
Besides, ef we did, 'twas our business alone,
Fer couldn't we du wut we would with our own?
An' ef a man can, wen pervisions hev riz so,
Eat up his own words, it's a marcy it is so.'

"We wish that we had space to quote the whole description of the incident which led to Mr. Sawin's conversion to slavery doctrines, but we can only give a few lines here and there:

'Ez fer the niggers, I've ben South, an' thet hez changed my mind;
A lazier, more ungrateful set you couldn't nowers find.

* * * * *
 I shon'der'd queen's-arm and stumped out, ah! when I come t' th' swamp,
 Tworn't very long afore I gut upon the nest o' Pomp. * * *

Wal, I jest gut 'em into a line, an' druv 'em on afore me,
 The pis'nous brutes, I'd no idee o' the ill-will they bore me.
 We walk'd till som'ers about noon, an' then it grew so hot
 I thought it best to camp a while, so I chose out a spot,
 Then I unstrapp'd my wooden leg, coz it begun to chafe,
 An laid it down jest by my side, supposin' all wuz safe.'

"Pomp, however, 'snaked up behind,' and stole the leg, robbed him of his pistols, and took him prisoner to the swamp.

' And kep' me pris'ner 'bout six months, an' work'd me, tu, like sin,
 Till I hed gut his corn and his Carlino taters in;
 He made me larn him readin', tu, (although the critter saw
 How much it hut my morril sence to act agin the law,)
 So'st he could read a Bible he'd gut; an' axed if I could pint
 The North Star out; but there I put his nose some out o' jint,
 For I wheeled roun' about sou'west, an' lookin' up a bit,
 Pick'd out a middlin' shiny one an' tole him thet was it.
 Fin'ly, he took me to the door, an' givin' me a kick,
 Sez,—"Ef you know wut's best fer ye, be off now, double-quick."'"

The following two lines from Lowell shows that he is the real author of Judge Taney's famous, or rather infamous, doctrine, that the "all men" of the Declaration of Independence does not include the African race; only Lowell meant it for an absurdity, and Taney seriously means to make it reality:

"Ef I don't make his meanin' clear, perhaps in some respex I can,
 I know thet 'every man' don't mean a nigger or a Mexican."

In the following paragraph the Review does the "Nothing to Wear" of Butler a flippancy injustice, differing therein from the Westminster, which republished the poem entire. Whatever may be said of "Two Millions," Mr. Butler's first poem was by no means inferior to Lowell's effective but rather farcical humor.

"There are two little pieces lately published by an American, Mr. W. A. Butler, which deserve a few words from us. They are called 'Nothing to Wear,' and 'Two Millions;' and are very hastily executed satires upon the abuses of wealth by the ignorant and vulgar. They have had a considerable circulation among a certain not very select class of readers; and display a freedom in the management of verse, and an occasional sense of humor, which, if properly cultivated and applied, might make Mr. Butler's writings sought out by others than idlers at railway stations. Mr. Firkin, with

'His visible coach outside the visible Church,'

is the representative of an increasing class who are as fair marks for satire as ever existed; but we can only regret that in 'Two Millions,' as in 'The Age,' some good subjects are blown upon and spoiled. We would strongly recommend Mr. Butler and all persons who have faculties, and waste them, to reflect that they are only a worse development of the Firkin type. Firkin abuses the stewardship of a material estate; they waste the far more potent wealth of mind."

The North British contains a book notice, by far the best critique we have yet seen, on "Buckle's History of Civilization." To this worthless work the superabundant attention of its opponents have given a factitious and temporary importance. With all his catalogue ostentation of reading, he has little learning, while blunders are detected in every section. When Gibbon published, those who disliked his colorings found it very unsafe to question his facts.

But Mr. Buckle is a young man of plentiful reading leisure, who has taken notes and made chronicle of what he has read, and shaped it into a big, careless, narrow-minded book, which will sink by its own weight into obscurity. His narrow-mindedness met us at every page; his blunders, in fact, and scanty information on topics which he treats magisterially, we much suspected, but have nowhere seen so well and so briefly exposed as by the notice of the North British. "Guizot's History of Civilization" is not superseded by this proud structure of rubbish.

ART. XI.—QUARTERLY BOOK-TABLE.

It is of greatest concernment in the Church and Commonwealth to have a vigilant eye how books demean themselves as well as men, and thereafter to confine, imprison, and do sharpest justice on them as malefactors; for books are not absolutely dead things, but do contain a potency of life in them to be as active as that soul was whose progeny they are.—MILTON.

I.—Religion, Theology, and Biblical Literature.

(1.) *"The New England Theocracy. A History of the Congregationalists in New England to the Revivals of 1740.* By H. F. UHLEN. With a Preface by the late Dr. NEANDER. Translated from the second German Edition, by H. C. CONANT, author of the English Bible," etc. (12mo., pp. 303. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. New York: Sheldon, Blakeman & Co. Cincinnati: George S. Blanchard. 1858.) The late Dr. Neander became interested in the subject of American Revivals, by reading a work of Dr. Sprague's; and he put the task of giving a delineation of them in the German language, into the hands of his pupil Uhden. Upon surveying the subject, Uhden fancied that, in order to a full development of their nature, there was *necessity* for tracing the ecclesiastical history of New England, from the peculiarities of which he imagined that American revivals sprung. This necessity was fictitious; for the ground upon which it was based, namely, the derivation of American revivals from Puritan institutes, is false; and Uhden's conception of their ground arose from his unacquaintance with the true history of revivals, and the narrow source whence Neander drew his little knowledge of the subject. American revivals no more sprung from Puritan institutes than the Atlantic Ocean sprung from the Hudson River. The "Puritan Fathers" came from Old England, an entire body of earnest Christians; and what more natural or more beautiful than the expectation that in these rough wilds they might hope to be unmolested in their purity, and here set up a millennial community, in which all should share in public rule, and all be truly and experimentally Christian? The Church was the state, and every one was to obey the laws of God and be holy. Thence Uhden is pleased to style the government a theocracy. And it is no fault of the theocracy that it does not stand until this day. The fault lay in the divergent opinions of good men who do not so accord, in our present imperfect condi-

tions as to make due harmony possible; in the incoming of foreign elements, which cannot be expelled without provoking reaction and overthrow; and in the degeneracy of later generations, to whom the strait-laced institutes of their fathers are a tedium. The first of these causes appeared in the dissent and repulsion of Roger Williams and his followers. The second appeared in the inroads of the Quakers, who just then seemed instigated by some spirit with a marvelous obstinacy to infest their community. The "Puritan Fathers" only sought the removal of the Quakers, and felt themselves justified in inflicting the extremest punishment for their contumacious return. But so persistent were the intruders in their disobedience, that the government began to see no end of bloodshed. The Fathers woke up on a somber New England morning, and found themselves—persecutors! To their honor, in due time, upon this discovery, they withheld their hand; and the arrival of the royal mandate, arresting farther execution, found it already voluntarily stayed. But the third cause, posterior degeneration, assumed a variety of forms, unnerving the tone of religion and morality, and producing indifference, skepticism, and immorality. Against these causes of decay were interposed, as obstacles, organic efforts of reform, producing public movements and theological platforms that but feebly stayed the downward progress. The other obstacle interposed was the Northampton revival, under the ministry of Edwards, which was local in its character, and perfectly powerless as an opposition to prevalent degeneracy. With a slight exception, American revivals were wholly a foreign element, superinduced upon Puritanism contrary to its genius, and opposed by its authorities and institutes, but nevertheless ultimately accepted from a foreign source by the hearts of the people.

It was the "great movement of the eighteenth century, called Methodism," that gave New England as well as America her revivals. Methodism gave them to New England, in the first place, by the ministry of Whitefield, shortly after the Northampton excitement, by which she was opportunely made possible, and partially acceptable; but so ungenial was New England to revivals that when Whitefield made his second visit he was repudiated by New England, and his ministry proved a failure. Whitefield's visitation southward warmed the hearts of the people, and prepared the way for the second great advent of Methodism, of which we may give the following account:

It is to Francis Asbury, "The Pioneer Bishop," the founder bishop of American Methodism, and to the itinerancy under his charge, more than all other human sources together, that America truly owes her revivals. With a sweep, a rapidity, and a range of which Puritanism has not even yet acquired any adequate conception, Asbury sped his course over the entire Anglo-American continent, from New England to Mississippi, from Georgia to Indiana, and from out a blaze of revivals there sprung up in America a people that were not a people, numbering its millions. The great revivals in Virginia in the time of Jarratt, the greater revivals in Kentucky, were converting their thousands, while New England Puritanism was spiritually torpid. When Methodism with her revivals invaded New England, she found a general opposition, not merely to her theology or her forms, but to her revivals as such. The very spirit and make of the New England Churches were uncon-

genial. The narrow theology, the frigid temperament, the fixed organisms, the traditional prejudices, the dread of "excitement" and "animal feeling," were adamantly set against them. Yet there was an element of genuine piety in Puritanism, to which a warmer glow of religious feeling had an affinity. In the very contest against revivals and Methodism, pious hearts would take the holy contagion, and then whole Churches had to work for revivals in self-defense. As years have passed on, New England has relaxed her fatalistic theology, surrendered her rigid forms, and accepted the great revival element. But let her not outrage history with the scandalous pretense that these great movements flowed *from* her as an effect from inherent causes. We grant her all due credit when we say, that New England is about as much the source of American revivals as the Hudson River is the source of the Atlantic Ocean.

The basis of this book, then, is a falsification of history, unintentional, but none the less real, and none the less unjust. Nor let our Puritan friends for one moment imagine that this mistake will be allowed to pass uncontradicted and current. We rejoice to say that the true history of the case will be evolved, and one of the readiest to acknowledge his error will be Uhden.

Yet apart from this error, this work is a valuable contribution to American religious and ecclesiastical history. It gives to every inquirer a clear and concise view of the origin, progress, and decline of Puritanism in America.

(2.) "*Nature and the Supernatural, as together constituting the one System of God.* By HORACE BUSHNELL." (8vo., pp. 528. New York: C. Scribner. 1858.) The object of this work is so to establish by antecedent right reason the existence of a supernatural system accordant with that found in the Word, as to predispose the mind to accept the Word. Dr. Bushnell's argument stands in opposition to those preconceptions with which Strauss and Parker approach the Gospels, and find themselves impelled to impugn, by some critical process, their verity. His argument, therefore, frames itself into a sort of Theodice, by which the justice of the present system is explained.

Mr. Bushnell begins by defining *nature* to be the system of causes and effects; that is, essentially, the *necessitated*. Human volitions being unnecessitated rise thereby above nature, and become *supernatural*. The particular volition is uncaused, and sin has no grounds. This idea, originating, we believe, with Kant, (Philosophy of Religion,) involves the conclusion that sin is an unaccountable mystery. Human personality is, therefore, supernatural; much more the divine personality. Dr. Bushnell's Theodice is thoroughly Arminian, discarding necessitarianism and predestination, only retaining foreknowledge.

Dr. Bushnell shows how probation involves the possible existence of sin; and the infinite desirableness of probation furnishes the justification of God in admitting the possibility of sin. But sin involves terrible disorder and remediless ruin; for which a remedy is demanded—a remedy which no self-action and no natural development of character can produce.

God being like man, supernatural, holds nature beneath him with full power to act upon it; circumscribed by no other law than the voluntary law of taking such course as will secure the ultimate end. As man acts upon nature,

and interrupts what would otherwise be a certain train of causes and effects, so God may work upon the train of causes and effects; and when he so works, interrupting visibly to man such train, making a given link, or more, different from what it would be, that is a miracle. And as neither nature, nor supernatural man, could work out the remedy of the evils produced by sin, the remedy must appear from the supernatural act of God—miracle.

Christ's own existence, person, and life are that miracle. This he proves by showing that Christ's complete character is more than human. In this part we are reminded of Ullman's "Sinlessness of Jesus." Christ's founding a divine kingdom is above humanity. And here we are reminded of Reinhart's "Plan of the Founder of Christianity."

Miracles, Mr. Bushnell next tells us, paradoxically, do not prove the Gospel, but burden it with necessity of stronger proof from other sources. True, we answer, miracles do not prove the Gospel history; no one ever supposed they did; but miracles, being proved, prove the divine mission of Christ and the divinity of Christianity. But that God does, by supernatural volition, touch links of the natural chain, and even commence new chains, Dr. B. maintains, is demonstrated by geology, which exhibits traces of the creation of new races of being. Finally he resorts, with characteristic boldness, to an unusual argument. We remember no philosopher since Dr. Henry More (unless it be Mr. Wesley) who has adduced modern narratives of what are called *supernatural facts* in proof of theological doctrine. Dr. Bushnell relates several narratives of this kind. He avers (what we have experienced to be the fact) that if you will investigate, such ostensibly supernatural facts are constantly occurring; and that in almost every social circle will be found an individual to whom has happened some strange, unaccountable supernaturalism, hushed up in silence, or only uttered in confidential subtone. The supernatural and the miraculous are therefore reigning over nature in past history and in present experience. They are demanded by disordered nature and ruined man. And when we open the Gospels we only find what all these views require we should find; and the Gospel system is found by anticipation true.

(3.) "*The Sabbath Hymn Book*, for the Service of Song in the House of the Lord." (New York: Mason Brothers. Boston: J. E. Tilton & Co. 1858.) This hymn book, edited by Professors Park and Phelps of Andover, and Dr. Lowell Mason of New York, has been looked for with great interest. At last it is here, and has met very generally with a hearty welcome. The public were justified in expecting from editors so accomplished, and to so great an extent free from ecclesiastical restrictions, a collection of sacred lyrical poetry, catholic in spirit and of surpassing excellence. Their expectation has not been disappointed. We have here a very remarkable collection of hymns. They are very numerous, too numerous, we think, numbering in all twelve hundred and ninety hymns. With these, however, are incorporated metrical versions of the psalms, not collected into a separate book, but, as in the Methodist hymn book, distributed under their appropriate headings. This alone is a great improvement on the old plan. A number of psalms and other passages of Scripture, together with the *Te Deum* and other ancient hymns of the Church, are

appended as chants to the hymns in meter. These hymns have been gathered from the Church Universal. Like "wise householders instructed into the kingdom of heaven," the editors "have brought forth out of their treasury things new and old." All ages of the Church contribute to this anthology; the Fathers, the Schoolmen, the Reformers, and men yet living among us. Men of all creeds are here allowed to utter their voice of devotion; the Arminian Wesleys, and Calvinistic Watts, and Doddridge, and Toplady, of course, but Clemens Alexandrinus, Xavier, Thomas Aquinas, Luther, Gerhard, and others as well, who knew nothing of these doctrinal distinctions. The hymns of the Latin and Greek Churches are here, with those of the Lutheran and Reformed Churches of Germany, the Presbyterian Church of Scotland, the Episcopal Church of England, the Congregational Churches of New England, and, in fact, the Churches of all names found among us. It is necessary to say no more to prove that *The Sabbath Hymn Book* is a veritable thesaurus of Christian song. The indexes to these treasures are very admirably made. We need only say that, in addition to the usual "Classification of Hymns," "Scripture Texts," "First lines of Hymns and Stanzas," there are forty-two pages of "Alphabetical Index of Subjects," to show how accessible any hymn must be to the preacher.

But while heartily commending the book, we have some strictures to make. First, there are too many hymns, and some unnecessary repetitions of the same hymn in different forms; for example, hymns 1253 and 1254, the former containing all the latter. The alterations and compressions are not always happy. We do not understand why the verse of Montgomery's exquisite lyric, "Forever with the Lord," commencing "While in this body pent," should have been left out, it being the most beautiful stanza of the hymn. And while gratified at the unusually large number of Wesley's productions, we must yet wonder at the omission of such hymns as

"How happy every child of grace."

"Arise my soul, arise."

"Jesus, the name high over all."

"Come, O thou traveler unknown."

But our chief objection is to some features of the classification. We think this should have been as catholic as the hymns it classifies. Why then do we find so conventional a heading as "The Perseverance of the Saints." All Christians, how diverse soever their creeds, sing very nearly the same theology, as the author of "A Convention Sermon" very well knows. A proof of this is seen in the fact that hymn 368 of the *Sabbath Hymn Book* is classified, in the "Index of Subjects," as teaching the "assurance of perseverance." Now the hymn is by Charles Wesley, who, it seems, sang Calvinism, which he did not believe. The headings would be an offense to some whom the hymns would greatly edify; indeed any Methodist could sing the volume through, with one or two hymns omitted, (which would be no loss to the poetry of the book) with hearty approbation, but none of us would like to be informed we were singing the Five Points.

The editors will not think us captious in these criticisms, especially since it is the belief of two of them at least, that perfection is attainable and therefore

a rightful demand, and that though it is never attained, this does not relieve from censure. But though not perfect in our eyes, we are happy to commend "The Sabbath Hymn Book" as an admirable collection of sacred lyrics, and as eminently conducive to the spirituality of "The Service of Song in the House of the Lord."

T.

(4.) "*The Theology of Christian Experience*, designed as an Exposition of the Common Faith of the Church of God. By GEORGE D. ARMSTRONG, Pastor of the Presbyterian Church of Norfolk, Virginia." (12mo., pp. 342. New York: C. Scribner. 1858.)

(5.) "*The Christian Doctrine of Slavery*. By GEORGE D. ARMSTRONG, Pastor of the Presbyterian Church of Norfolk, Virginia. (12mo., pp. 148. New York: Charles Scribner. 1857.) The first of the above two works is written in illustration of the fact, that within the outer circle of Christian theological doctrine upon which Christians are divided, there is a central doctrine of Christian experience in which true Christians agree. This valuable conception is developed by the author with no very extraordinary depth of thought, but with genial feeling, great clearness, and no little interest of style. It is well calculated to edify the Church and to make *Christians of infidels*.

The second volume is written to soothe the consciences of the owners of stolen property in the shape of human beings. In other words, it is a justification of the buying and selling of men, women, and children. It is well calculated to demoralize the Church, and to make *infidels of Christians*.

(6.) "*Sermons to the Churches*. By FRANCIS WAYLAND." (12mo., pp. 281. New York: Sheldon, Blakeman, & Co. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. London: Trübner & Co. 1858.) Dr. Wayland is a true Christian realist. Other men are profound, or learned, or eloquent as an entire aim; he is profound, learned, and in his way eloquent, as means to an ulterior object. Plainly he has a purpose, and that purpose is to bring an actual and earnest Christianity into practice. He is bent on having sinful men become Christians, on inducing Christians to become an effective Church, on establishing such agencies as will, under a blessing Providence, convert mankind to the religion of Jesus Christ. It is pleasant to see how manly, suggestive, and business-like he is in the matter. And when we see the great powers he brings to this purpose, and how he estimates the value of those powers and their products by their furtherance of these ends, we say, Behold a great soul consecrated to a great object. We have described the author as he is to us in these his works, and so we have described the works themselves. To all like-minded with the author, this will appear about the most valuable of the many volumes of sermons the press of this year has produced.

(7.) "*Mizpah*. Prayer and Friendship. By LAFAYETTE C. LOOMIS, A. M." (12mo., pp. 391. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1858.) This book is intended for personal, family, or academic devotions. It consists of a Scripture lesson, referred to but not inserted, and a meditation for every day in the year. The meditations are, many of them, selected, but the large

amount is original. The selections are made with good judgment. The original part is, in the general, written with much purity and beauty of style, and rich devotional feeling. Some have thought that there is a little ambitiousness in some passages; but devotional prose should be little below devotional poetry in its tone. Both should be the expression of awakened feeling. Many of the passages remind us of Bishop Hall, one of the most beautiful of our old meditative writers. We cannot doubt that the proper use of this volume would tend to add interest to the occasion of social prayer. The external finish is very neat.

(8.) "*Sermons preached at Trinity Chapel, Brighton*, by the late Rev. FREDERIC W. ROBERTSON, M. A., the Incumbent. Third Series. From the second London Edition." (Pp. 324. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 1858.) This elegant volume is closed with a memoir, giving a very attractive impression of the character of the departed preacher, and preceded by an engraved picture from a sculptured bust, presenting form and features of the most classical manly beauty. The sermons were extemporaneously delivered, and written the day after delivery from memory. Their style of thought and language comports with the impression of talent, grace, and intellectual power produced by both memoir and picture. Mr. Robertson was cast in nature's finest mold, a high, pure, intellectual thinker, a natural spontaneous orator, capable of swaying and elevating all classes of mind, and of touching all hearts; and especially of winning a favorite's place in the esteem of the polished circles of social life. This volume embraces, it will be observed, a *third series*. A first and a second series have been previously issued by Ticknor & Field, and a fourth series is in preparation. They are done up in the usual elegant style of that publishing house. The whole series will be well worthy the attention of all readers interested in the best pulpit literature.

(9.) "*The Harvest and the Reapers; Home Work for all and how to do it*. By Rev. HARVEY NEWCOMB." (18mo., pp. 270. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1858.) Our great revival has brought to the Church a large number of converts. Our own Church has herein been an abundant reaper. Well, if they be fully gathered in, and marshalled to their ranks. Our class-meetings furnish us the best spiritual police in all Protestant Christendom for conservation, and for education in the spiritual life. But are meeting, singing, talking, and praying the whole of that education? These are a true basis of their own spiritual life; but are they also educated to spiritual and benevolent activity? There is need for them to know the "Home Work for all, and how to do it." A beautiful and most practical manual is this of Mr. Newcomb's, to teach the young convert the best of all arts, the art of good doing.

(10.) "*Discourses on common Topics of Christian Faith and Practice*. By JAMES W. ALEXANDER, D. D." (8vo., pp. 463. New York: Charles Scribner.) The pulpit of our day is a live pulpit. It speaks not only with a thrilling vocal power from the living lips, but it pours forth at the present time a copious stream of living literature, eloquent to the eye as well as to the ear,

bearing the signatures of the highest intellect and the most finished culture. Amid all the departments of mental power, we hesitate not to say, and the pages of our Book-Table for the last year attest it, that the pulpit at the present time stands nothing behind the foremost position.

On a level with the best of our day will stand the Discourses contained in the present volume. That they contain, as delivered from his own pulpit, the manly exhibition of his own views of doctrinal truth, can be no objection. Richly evangelical in feeling, embodying massy thought, expressed in clear, chaste, forcible style, they may be freely indorsed as able specimens of the American pulpit.

(11.) "*The New Testament of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.*" (New York: Collins & Brother.) This edition of the New Testament is in liberal type; unbroken into chapters and verses, but divided naturally into paragraphs. The indications of the old divisions are placed at the head of the page. The release of the text from the fragmentary lacerations of the old verse system, gives a new impression, both of more clearly connected meaning, and a rounder and complete style of the holy documents. We cannot but believe that the obsolete method of verse division, which makes a sacred narrative or argument look like a series of select sentences, interrupting the thought and losing the true connection, will be abandoned. The necessity of reference will oblige the retention of the numbers of chapter and verse in the margin; but the continuity of the text, divided by paragraphs, should be universally adopted.

(12.) "*The New Testament; or, the Book of the Holy Gospel of our Lord and our God, Jesus the Messiah.* A Literal Translation from the Syriac Peshito Version. By JAMES MURDOCK, D.D." (8vo., pp. 515. New York: Carter & Brothers. 1858.) The Syriac translation of the New Testament, made early after the death of the last apostle, (if, indeed, *after*,) exhibiting a near approximation to the native dialect of our Lord and his disciples, is the most valuable of all versions, and perhaps of all documents except the sacred text, both as a matter of comparison and as evidence of authenticity. Dr. Murdock was a man of no second-hand scholarship. Both from the fundamental erudition of the translator and the intrinsic interest of the work, this is an invaluable publication for the American Biblical student.

(13.) "*The Whole Works of Robert Leighton, D.D., Archbishop of Glasgow.* To which is prefixed a Life of the Author. By JOHN NORMAN PIERSON, M.A., of Trinity College, Cambridge. With a Table of Texts of Scripture, and an Index of the Subjects, compiled expressly for this edition." (8vo., pp. 800. New York: Carter & Brothers. 1859.) The completest edition of Leighton ever published. The Scotch edition was deficient of some pieces, the English of others; but the present volume comprises all of both. America, therefore, through the press of the Carters, gives to the world the first entire publication of his works. Leighton's character has, of course, been long established as a sacred classic. His theology was moderately Calvinistic. His piety was much in the style of Fletcher of Madeley.

(14.) "*Devotional Exercises for Schools and Families. New Edition, with Additions.*" (18mo., pp. 192. Boston: James Munroe & Co. 1858.) This little manual embraces fifty devotional lessons. Each lesson is divided into three parts, namely, a short selection from the Book of Proverbs, calculated to impress lessons of practical wisdom; a selection from the Book of Psalms, to be read by teacher and pupils responsively; and a selection from the Gospels, to be read by the teacher. These are to be followed by the Lord's Prayer, or extemporaneous devotion, and the conclusion is a hymn here furnished. It seems a well-planned manual for school devotions.

(15.) *The Sheepfold and the Common; or, the Evangelical Rambler.*" (12mo., pp. 530. Carter & Brothers. 1859.) This is a re-issue of a work which was published, under the title of "The Evangelical Rambler," some thirty years ago, and obtained a circulation of nearly a hundred thousand copies in England, and not much less in America. Its object is, in a series of attractive essays, narratives, and dialogues, to enforce the principles of personal piety as distinguished from mere ecclesiastical righteousness. It is a series of most appropriate tracts for the times.

(16.) "*The Pulpit and the Rostrum. Sermons, Orations, Popular Lectures, etc. Phonographically reported by ANDREW J. GRAHAM, CHARLES B. EDLAR, and FELIX G. FONTAINE. A serial.*" (12mo., pp. 20. New York: E. D. Barker. November, 1848. This is the first number of a projected serial, apparently, though not professedly, a monthly. It contains a sermon on Christian Recreation and Unchristian Amusement, by Rev. T. L. Cuyler. It is a neat publication, and may be productive of public benefit.

(17.) "*Glimpses of Jesus; or, Christ exalted in the Affections of his People. By W. P. BALFERN. From the Second London Edition.*" (18mo., pp. 259. New York: Sheldon, Blakeman, & Co. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. Richmond: Wortham & Cotrell. 1858.) A series of rich meditations on particular passages of the Saviour's life.

(18.) "*Rays of Light. Second Series.*" (48mo., pp. 125. Boston: Otis Clapp. 1858.) A beautiful miniature volume. It is Swedenborgian in its standpoint; but from its peculiar direction casts sometimes forcible illustration on moral truth.

II.—Philosophy, Metaphysics, and General Science.

(19.) "*The Impending Crisis of 1860. By H. MATTISON.*" (Pp. 108. New York: Mason & Brothers. 1858.) Without committing ourselves to all its positions, we may say that in the authority of its documents, the cogency of its arguments, and the clear ring of its style, this is one of the most powerful documents of the great anti-slavery struggle.

III.—History, Biography, and Topography.

(20.) "*The Pioneer Bishop*; or, the Life and Times of FRANCIS ASBURY, by W. P. STRICKLAND, D.D., with an Introduction by Nathan Bangs, D.D." (12mo., pp. 496. New York: Carlton and Porter.) The founder bishop! The American Wesley! One of the truest successors of the chief of the Apostles since the Apostles' day. He has at length found a biographer, and may yet find his true place in history. And when that time comes, and it is not far distant, he will shine as a star of prime magnitude among the men of large plans and bold emprise in spreading the victories of the cross, and laying the broad and deep foundations of the Universal Church.

Dr. Strickland has nobly done his work. It had seemed a fatality for any man to undertake the task of portraying our founder bishop for history. Dr. S. has conquered the fatality, whether of death or failure, and has with great industry and ability collected the scattered material, traced the mighty labors and triumphs of the hero, and delineated the lineaments of the man with a true and life-like pencil. The pure Saxon simplicity of Dr. Strickland's language, his clear, direct lucidness of thought, his flexibility of style, now detailing with a minute precision, and now swelling out into a flowing exuberance of natural or moral description, aid to render this one of the most fascinating volumes of biography ever issued from our press. But so primitive, so grand, so expansive a subject! Nothing could surpass the energy of Wesley in his sphere; but there is a narrowness and geographical insularity in his scope that cramp the free play of imagination. But the mighty Asbury, with less, indeed, of trained acquirement, yet with all the same natural power to command, and ability to found, and with all the same natural spring and holy, world-embracing impulse, is let loose upon a broad continent, over which, in its rude, half-developed state, he sweeps with a true Napoleonic rapidity, and, in a far better cause, with a true Napoleonic success. "Thunder and rain, awful mountains, deep rivers, and swollen streams," in his own bold language, were obstacles with which he was familiar. Ruling first by Mr. Wesley's choice, next by a free and unanimous election, and thence through his whole life with the most earnest and almost uninterrupted unanimity of the whole Church, and with an unrivaled pre-eminency for forty round years, under his administration the little flock commencing at John-street spread its swarming myriads, and drew their conference-lines amid joyous labors and glorious revivals, covering the civilized continent, and, in less than half a century, outnumbering the largest denominations that had been for two centuries in the land. There is nothing surpasses it in the history of the Church. To talk of American revivals taking their origin from New England Puritanism, forsooth, is reduced to a folly and a laughter from this book alone.

We are brought nigher to Asbury as a living man, a beating heart, in this book than we had ever hoped. There is in him, with a natural Pauline destiny to rule, a natural magnanimity, a free unselfishness, an earnest humanity. What inimitable models of the filial are his letters to his aged parents! What delicately blended tenderness and firmness in his dealing with Mr. Wesley! What a rare power of attaching to himself the hearts of his subordinates and

associates; making himself a nucleus of firm union, and leaving his traditional impress not only on the organism, but on the tender and reverent memories of his survivors! Much has our Church lost, in the long interval before his memorials have been combined into a single portraiture, of the historic value of his character!

A few terse traditional apothegms still linger traditionally of Asbury's utterance; but it has taken Dr. Strickland's collection to bring us to the conclusion that Asbury possessed by nature a strong vein of utilitarian wit. He was undoubtedly endowed with the gift of sarcasm—a gift which is bestowed to be used. The power of exposing in strong, terse, epigrammatic phrase, the vulnerable point of culpable folly or palpable wickedness, Asbury naturally possessed and rightfully employed. It was in his hands, as it ever should be, an effective instrument of moral power. We have had of late specimens of something little short of ministerial buffoonery, petted and spread with broadcast popularity through the land, with little improvement or credit to our taste as a Church; but of the keen pungency of Asbury's wit, tempered by the dignity of the man and the bishop, little has been said. Dr. Strickland, through his work, enlivens his pages with these sparkles; but there are several brilliant flashes given forth, particularly upon American Slavery, which he has faithfully omitted. We suggest the following for his next edition:

"*South Carolina*, 1801. A Solomon Reeves let me know that he had seen the Address signed by me, and was quite confident there were no arguments to prove that slavery was repugnant to the spirit of the Gospel! What absurdities will not men defend! If the Gospel will tolerate slavery, what will it not authorize? I am strangely mistaken if this said Mr. Reeves has *more grace than is necessary, or more of Solomon than the name*."—*Asbury's Journal*, p. 15.

And again we have, as we doubt not, in the following words, the expressed feeling of many a Southern minister at the present day, condemned to live and be silent under the despot's gutta percha:

"O! to be dependent on slaveholders is in part to be a slave, and I was free born."

The following flashes out with the true old Wesleyan fire:

"Spoke to some select friends about slave-keeping, but they could not bear it; this I know, God will plead the cause of the oppressed, though it gives offense to say so here. O Lord, banish the INFERNAL SPIRIT OF SLAVERY from thy dear Zion!"

The following passage from Dr. Strickland's memoir is well worthy the study of our High Church friends:

"During this tour Asbury and M'Kendree rode together in a carriage. In the Journal it is thus described: 'We are riding in a poor thirty dollar chaise, in partnership, two bishops of us; but it must be confessed it tallies well with the weight of our purses. What bishops! Well, but we have great times; each Western, Southern, and the Virginia Conference will have a thousand souls truly converted to God, and is not this an equivalent for a light purse, and are we not well paid for starving and toil?'"

We can scarce fail to recognize it as one great providential purpose in the history of American Methodism, to free an apostolic episcopacy from the oppressive figment of apostolic succession. From that terrible despotic incubus upon the elastic energies of a Church, we are blessedly emancipated. We have an episcopacy responsible, free, flexible, active, executive, and energetic. Whatever it may be to the State Church of Sweden, to us, God be thanked,

an emancipated episcopacy is an emancipated Church.* Our friends of the lesser and later, though somewhat higher Episcopal Church, abound in satin surplices, and lofty airs; but not one in a thousand of us, ministry or laity, would vote to accept their successorship gratis. Dr. Bangs, in his introduction, well remarks of Asbury:

"He was the first Protestant bishop that ever trod the American soil, and he was the only bishop that followed the example of the apostles and primitive evangelists by itinerating through the length and breadth of the land, visiting alternately the cities and villages, the older settlements, and traversing the wilderness in search of the lost sheep of the house of Israel, carrying with him the light of truth and the love of God and man wherever he went."

(21.) "*The History of Prostitution: Its Extent, Causes, and Effects throughout the World.* [Being an Official Report to the Board of Alms-House Governors of the City of New York.] By WILLIAM W. SANGER, M. D., Resident Physician, Blackwell's Island, New York," (8vo., pp. 685. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1858.) This weighty volume, though possessed of great value for the scientific moralist, contains much to which the moralist might perhaps reasonably object. The first half, containing the literature and history of the subject, presents rather too much the sunny side of graceful and gilded guilt. One half of the volume seems calculated to produce the crime that the whole is professedly designed to prevent. Yet even in that part the author presents to view, as an imperishable and irrefutable fact of history, the powerful reverse which the rise of Christianity produced in the licentiousness of the pagan world, and the pure ideal of chastity it upheld, exaggerated indeed to monasticism, yet all the more clearly powerful from the fact of that exaggeration.

The last and most valuable half of the volume presents a full view of modern prostitution, and especially of that "peculiar institution" as it exists in the principal cities of America, particularly New York. The statistics are procured, with much apparent care, from sources as reliable as possible.

The aggregate of New York licentiousness is not so enormous as many philanthropists have imagined. The whole number of dissolute females is estimated at about six thousand, three-eighths of whom are American. The majority are between fifteen and twenty-five years of age; four years of prostitution generally terminating their career in death. Six-sevenths are intemperate, and nearly one half syphilitic. The causes of their ruin are want of employment, seduction, intemperance, bad company, and ill treatment by parents.

© The *Richmond Central Presbyterian* has the following paragraph: It is a curious fact in the history of American Episcopacy, which we do not remember to have seen in English, that when the bishops first elected in this country (Drs. Seabury and Provost) were refused ordination by the English prelates, they applied to those of Denmark, much to the surprise of the Scandinavian dignitaries, who supposed it to be well known, even in America, that their episcopate is only nominal, and lays no claim to an unbroken apostolical succession. It was not indeed the purpose of the Danish reformers to retain the title *Bishop*; but the awkward substitute which they proposed to borrow from the Germans, (*Superintendent*.) though retained in laws and formal documents, could never be naturalized in common parlance, and soon yielded to the old familiar *Bisp* or *Biskop*. As we do not pretend to be directly cognizant of these high matters, we expressly cite as our authority the Danish church-historian Helweg, in his "*Danske Kirkes Historie efter Reformationen*," Copenhagen, 1851, vol. 1, p. 10; vol. 2, p. 253.

Let no false delicacy prevent philanthropists from inquiring what are the remedies for this terrible evil, an evil which diffuses its taint far more widely through the veins of public health and manhood than is dreamed by chaster minds, and which, when it has poisoned the "course of nature," is, like total depravity, hereditary, and visits the iniquity of parent upon child to the third and fourth generation. Such philanthropists should give, especially, the last half of this book a careful perusal. And it would be a good work should a smaller volume be prepared by some most judicious hand, exhibiting the fearful nature of the subject, and suggesting what preventive and remedial methods can be adopted.

(22.) "*From New York to Delhi*, by way of Rio de Janeiro, Australia, and China. By Robert B. Minturn, Jr." (12mo., pp. 488. New York: Appleton & Co. 1858.) Mr. Minturn is not a sprightly writer. You will not continue reading him from the pure excitement of the exercise. But there is an apparent carefulness of observation and sobriety of judgment which to the inquirer afford an assurance of reliability. On the subject of Asiatic morality we have the following most instructive paragraph:

"I have now spoken of offenses against life and property, and of one crime against morality, namely lying. With respect to other offenses against morality, and, in particular, the awful forms of licentiousness which are common, I cannot speak. They are such horrors as pollute the mind of him who only hears them mentioned. Bayard Taylor says of the Chinese: "Forms of vice which, in other countries, are barely named, are, in China, so common that they excite no comment among the natives. They constitute the surface-level, and below them there are depths on depths of depravity so shocking and horrible that their character cannot even be hinted. There are some dark shadows in human nature which we naturally shrink from penetrating, and I made no attempt to collect information of this kind, but there was enough in the things which I could not avoid seeing and hearing—which are brought almost daily to the notice of every Chinese resident—to inspire me with a powerful aversion to the Chinese race. Their touch is pollution," etc. From this Mr. Taylor concludes that "the Chinese are morally the most debased people on the face of the earth." Had he remained stationary as long in India as he did in China, he might have found reason to modify his opinion, and he would, no doubt, without "attempting to collect information," have become aware of facts which would have induced him to give to the natives of India the evil pre-eminence which he attributes to the Chinese, and he might even have concluded, as I did, that the Chinese were a moral race in comparison. It is quite impossible, without utter violation of decency, to give a full idea of the enormities which are common in India. If the reader can suppose the horrors of Sodom to be magnified and perfected by thousands of years during which they have been practised; if he can imagine that putrifying sore not to have been utterly consumed by the hot fires of an offended God, but to have been permitted by his long-suffering to pollute the earth, and to have gone on rotting and festering to the present time, then he may form some conception of the fearful excesses now daily practised in India.

(23.) "*Self-Made Men*. By CHARLES C. B. SEYMOUR." (12mo., pp. 588. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1858.) We cannot help thinking that the ordinary style of language in regard to "self-made men" is founded in error. No man ever made himself whom nature had not first made. No man ever became a true man who, after nature had done her part, did not perform his own. Hence every true man is both nature-made and self-made.

The ordinary use of the term self-made, in opposition to those who have enjoyed early educational advantages, has its injustice. The very fact that a youth is surrounded with abundant aids, tends to unnerve, and creates a temptation to indolence, requiring often the highest effort of self-making to overcome. And after the most lavish advantages that wealth can supply, no man ever attained true manhood who did not so use those advantages with persevering labor as truly at last to *make himself*. Hence, in the volume before us, it is with great propriety that the author includes in his list of self-made men several persons who were favored with early but well-used advantages, by which they unfolded into noble action the powers with which nature endowed them. The book is well adapted to inspire high purpose in the minds of our young America.

(24.) "*Memoir of Rev. David Tappan Stoddard, Missionary to the Nestorians.* By JOSEPH P. THOMSON, D.D., Pastor of the Broadway Tabernacle Church." (12mo., pp. 422. New York: Sheldon, Blakeman, & Co. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1858.) "He goes among the Churches, burning like a seraph. I call him Henry Martyn, Junior. So heavenly a spirit—one whose meat and drink it is to be a missionary—has hardly ever been seen in this country." Such were the words of Professor B. B. Edwards in regard to this young American missionary. His life was a consecrated life; his biography is well calculated to inspire the missionary zeal, and raise up in the Church consecrated spirits like himself.

(25.) "*Words that shook the World; or, Martin Luther his own Biographer.* Being Pictures of the great Reformer, sketched mainly from his own Sayings. By CHARLES ADAMS." (16mo., pp. 333. New York: Carlton & Porter.) The story of Martin Luther, old yet ever fresh and new, is here told with more than ordinary interest. It can never be too often restated, and is seldom stated better than here by the lively and impressive pen of Mr. Adams. It presents a great event in history, a great character among men, and a great lesson for mankind. With such books as this it becomes us to shape our young American mind.

(26.) "*History of the Christian Church.* By PHILIP SCHAFF, D.D., Author of the 'Apostolic Church.' From the Birth of Christ to the Reign of Constantine. A.D. 1-311." (New York: Charles Scribner. 1859.) This is the second installment of Dr. Schaff's Ecclesiastical History, a work which it is his purpose to prosecute to the present age. The present, though a second volume, is complete in itself. It has arrived too late for a detailed examination, which we may give at a future time. But on its face it presents the signatures of comprehensive thought, arranged with the *lucidus ordo*. Dr. Schaff possesses a true Teutonic erudition, which he expresses with the best Anglo-Saxon clearness; and we may add, by the way, with a Celtic vivacity and effect. We hope that our neophytes who affect Continental erudition will learn from him that haziness and Germany are not synonymous.

A glance at his chapters on the development of the episcopate enables us to characterize it, as perhaps the most clear and unpartisan summary of the ar-

gument on that question extant. The conclusion resulting is, we think, about this, that episcopacy is *apostolically sanctioned but not enjoined*; its existence in the Church is justifiable and preferable, but not obligatory. And this is the doctrine of Cranmer and many of the best divines of the Anglican Church. It is a perfectly impregnable position.

(27.) "*Memoirs, Letters, and Journal of Harriet Maria Jukes*, wife of the late Rev. Mark R. Jukes. Compiled and edited by Mrs. H. A. GILBERT." (18mo., pp. 314. New York: Carter & Brothers.) The memoir of Mrs. Jukes presents a more than ordinarily interesting phase of Christian life. Born in England, a child of the English Church, she early manifested a deep interest in spiritual things. Upon her marriage she emigrated to Canada with her husband, who subsequently took holy orders in the Episcopal Church. The remainder of her life was spent in Ohio. Her entire life seemed consecrated to the Saviour.

(28.) "*A Journey Due North; being notes of a Residence in Russia*. By GEORGE AUGUSTUS SALA." (12mo., pp. 459. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 1858.) Mr. Sala is a humorous and fluent gentleman, exhibiting the genial and hilarious side of Mr. Bull in travel. He sees things, he hears things, he does things, and he tells things. Travel with him, and you will find him pictorial, categorical, a little irreverential, and nigh unto, though a little short, of the uproarious. But in fair weather or foul, he will keep you alert, and make the trip seem short.

(29.) "*Peasant Life in Germany*. By MISS ANNA C. JOHNSON, Author of the 'Iroquois,' 'Myrtle Wreath,' etc., etc. (12mo., pp. 420. New York: Charles Scribner.) The *naïveté* of this volume in its touches of the details of German peasant character can hardly be excelled. Give us, indeed, a lady, or what is better, a genuine woman, to pen-paint simple home and social life.

(30.) "*History of Frederick the Second, called Frederick the Great*. By THOMAS CARLYLE. In four volumes." (Vols. I. & II. Pp. 485, 556. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1858.) Of this rich and truly Carlylean work we expect a full review from an able hand.

IV.—*Politics, Law, and General Morals.*

(31.) "*The Testimony of Modern Science to the Unity of Mankind; being a Summary of the Conclusions announced by the highest Authorities in the several Departments of Physiology, Zoology, and Comparative Philology, in favor of the Specific Unity and Common Origin of all the Varieties of Man*. By J. L. CABELL, M. D., Professor of Comparative Anatomy in the University of Virginia. With an Introductory Notice. By JAMES W. ALEXANDER, D.D." (12mo., pp. 344. New York: Carter & Brothers. 1859.) Professor Cabell's work is a republication of several articles prepared by him for the Protestant Episcopal Review, and is in a great degree a direct reply to

the publication of Gliddon and others, entitled the "Types of Mankind," and "The Indigenous Races." It is a brief and very clear review of the question of human unity, of race, and origin, and indicates that this great debate is drawing to a close.

The analogy of lower animals has long been seen to indicate that a species consisting of individuals from the same parentage may, without ever crossing specific limits into another species, undergo, by climatic and other influences, changes far greater than the difference between the extremes of human varieties. Wide as the play of varieties may be between the extreme limits of the same species, the intransmutability of species ever remains an inviolate law. Professor Dana is quoted as strikingly illustrating this fact in zoology from the corresponding immutability in vegetable existence, without which the vegetable world would run into perfect confusion. And may we not add, the chemical fact of definite proportions, by which the species of inorganic nature are preserved, is but the same law regulating that part of creation. What else could prevent chaos from coming again?

But leaving the argument of animal analogy, human history affords positive instances of changes, amply sufficient for the argument, occurring in the human species. Mr. Poinsett saw in South America a fine healthy regiment of spotted men, quite peculiar enough to be held by Professor Agassiz a separate race. And why were they not? Simply because they were a known cross-breed between Spaniards and Indians. Changes as great are exhibited by the Magyars of Europe, and by the Ulster Irish, as quoted by Miller. Sir Charles Lyell was of opinion that a climatic change was already perceptible in the negro of our Southern states. Professor Cabell ably and clearly sustains the doctrine that propagability is conclusive proof of sameness of species. He denies, on good authority, that the mulatto is feebler or less prolific than either unmixed stock. He furnishes abundant proof of the barrenness of hybrids. The fact that the connection of different varieties of the human species produces a prolific progeny, is proof of oneness of species and family. This argument, sustained by facts, can hardly be considered less than demonstration.

The objection drawn from the improbability that the one race springing from a single locality, would migrate from a pleasanter to a worse region, is very completely dispatched. Ample causes, proofs, facts, and authorities are furnished to show that were mankind now reduced to a single family, only time would be wanting, even without civilization, to overspread the earth.

European man and European-American man, as all history agrees, came from Asia. Whence came our aboriginal men? As Professor Cabell shows they came by an antipodal route from the same Asia. Pursue the investigation, and the clue of history will lead our tremulous feet to about the Mosaic cradle of man.

Ethnology, or rather Glottology, the gradually perfecting comparison of languages, is bringing us to the same point. The unscientific attempt to trace the striking analogies of languages to the mere similarity of human organs, the still more unscientific attempt of Professor Agassiz to attribute them to a transcendental mental unity in races sprung from different original localities,

look like desperation. Meanwhile, comparison is educing wonderful yet rarely demonstrative laws, and laws are guiding threads converging to unity.

Then comes the real mental unity of the universal human soul. Races differ, indeed, in mental power, as do individuals, widely, even in the same family. But there is the same programme of mental philosophy for all. The same intellect, affections, instincts, conscience, sense of superior divine power, and susceptibility of religion. For the European, the Esquimaux, the Hot-tentot, there is the same power in the cross of Christ.

Then comes Geology, with her wonderful demonstration of the recent origin of man. The latest attempts to adduce specimens of fossil man are examined and ruled out. Not far back of the period that our best but somewhat hypothetical calculations from Mosaic chronology would assign, Geology fixes the birth of man.

Professor Cabell, with the most perfect courtesy, runs the sophistries of Mr. Gliddon and his friends into a pitiable nothingness. His clear style and cogent logic leave little to be desiderated. He has furnished a most valuable manual for all who wish to obtain the latest utterances of science on the subject. The only defect in the formation of the book is the want of an analysis, or table of contents.

But the courtesy which Professor Cabell extends to the assailants of Christianity, he very promptly withholds from the opponents of "American slavery, the vilest that ever saw the sun." When Professor Cabell talks of the "wicked fanaticism" of abolitionists, including thousands quite as good, and wise, and cognizant of the subject as himself, including such men as Wesley, Jefferson, and Humboldt, we can tell him that he does himself a very great wrong.

(32.) "*A Vindication of Border Methodism*, by REV. SAMUEL HUFFMAN, of the Missouri Annual Conference, Methodist Episcopal Church. With an Introduction by REV. JOHN L. CONKLIN." (12mo., pp. 47. St. Louis: R. P. Studley. 1858.) It is pleasant to receive a publication like this from the section which has come to be technically designated as the "Border." Pleasant especially because its bold front is not presented against its own Church in the free North. It utters no rebukes upon our anti-slaveryism, and makes no requirements of silence and prudent submission before the terrible face of an oligarchy. On the contrary, its face is aggressively southward, and its attitude and mien look very much as if its authors were purposing to lead on the peaceful victories of religion and freedom in the right direction. When such a lead is given upon our Border, it will be cheered and sustained. We repeat that the energies of the Church should, and we doubt not will, be so concentrated as to insure them efficient aid and ultimate triumph.

The purpose of this document is to refute the charges flung out from the Missouri organ of the Church, South, upon the Methodist Episcopal Church, of having violated the plan of separation. Mr. Huffman ably, courteously, and clearly demonstrates, as he was abundantly enabled by the facts, that the Church, South, was the real breaker of the covenant. His grounds are thus briefly recapitulated:

"I have shown, I think, first, that the General Conference of 1844 could not, constitutionally, divide the Church, and did not claim to do it; but, on the contrary, disclaimed any such intention. Secondly, that what they did do was wholly conditional. That the conditions failed, and that the leaders in the South continually violated the plan from the adjournment of the General Conference of 1844, until the plan was entirely destroyed. I have shown that our side kept and observed the plan strictly, until our southern brethren wholly obliterated the boundary line by their repeated infractions of the plan, and that the plan being thus rendered null and void by the action of the southern leaders themselves, we have a good right to be here in Missouri, or anywhere else that we may be called in the providence of God to go."

This document will furnish to all who may wish, a perspicuous and conclusive statement of the discussion with the Church, South, in regard to the abrogation of the "Covenant."

(33.) "*Vestiges of the Spirit-History of Man*, by S. F. DUNLAP, Member of the American Oriental Society, New Haven." (8vo., pp. 404. New York: Appleton & Co. 1858.) This book seems to be written by a young man whose mind has run to a particular kind of reading until it has become, we fear, a little crazed. Its pages are overspread with a congeries of all the mythologies of the earth, among which the Bible is unceremoniously included; and wherever he is pleased to find a similarity, natural or far-fetched, he pronounces an identity. He has no conception of argument, and never proves anything. All his whimsies he utters as axioms; the sum total of which is, that all the religions of the world are about equally true and equally false.

Christian reasoners have recognized the strong resemblance of many of the myths of antiquity to the clear, full, explicit narrations of the Old Testament. From the higher antiquity of the Hebrew writings, and their genuine historical character, these reasoners have inferred that the Biblical account is the original, and the others the dim distorted copy. Men of Mr. Dunlap's class, on very feeble grounds, assume that the Pentateuch is of modern origin, and hence its narratives are but the parallels or derivatives of Pagan myths.

Paley, in his *Horæ Paulinæ*, did, by a comparison of the Acts of the Apostles with Paul's Epistles, work out from the palpably undesigned coincidences of the two documents an argument surpassing even the force of the historical argument for the authenticity of the four Gospels, and placed the two documents on grounds which few, if any, scholarly skeptics at the present day impugn. We can specify one very similar undesigned internal trait in the book of Genesis, which we think few persons can examine without a deep intuitive feeling of the truth of the narrative. Let any man compare the state of Egypt as visited by Abraham with its state as visited by Joseph, and note the progress in wealth and power during the interval. The Pharaoh of Abraham appears not very greatly the patriarch's superior; and the presents he makes to Abraham are of a singularly rural character. But the Pharaoh before whom Joseph is summoned, is a magnificent monarch, whose presents are of a regal character, whose establishments are upon a munificent scale, and who requires a statesman of large views for his prime minister. And yet the differences of the two appear, not from formal description, but inferentially, by comparing groups of incidental facts. The perfect absence of all purpose, the natural keeping of each separate group, and the characteristic differences be-

tween the two, carry a force of conviction to the mind, very difficult to resist, of the genuinely historical character of the narrative.

(34.) "*The Banks of New York*, their dealings, their Clearing House, and the Panic of 1857: with a Financial Chart. By J. S. GIBBONS. Thirty illustrations by Herrick." (12mo., pp. 399. Appleton & Co. 1858.) There are many of our readers, perhaps, who know what is a *bull* or a *bear* upon the prairies, but understand not the animals of that name in Wall-street. The mysteries of that wonderful locality are here laid open with a graphic pen, accompanied with pictorial illustrations, sufficiently instructive and abundantly amusing, without the necessity of sacrificing any truth to comic effect. It could hardly be supposed that among other remarkable phenomena, Wall-street and its institutions could supply materials for a work more true than most history and more absorbing than fiction.

(35.) "*The Truth Unmasked and Error Exposed in Theology and Metaphysics, Moral Government, and Moral Agency.* By Elder H. W. MIDDLETON, Panola, Mississippi." (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1858.) What sort of metaphysics it is that Elder Middleton *unmasks*, may be fairly judged by the following passage: "It is an important truth to be understood, that it belongs to the *understanding* to determine, think, choose, *will*, etc., and not to affections, or to an *imaginary faculty* that metaphysicians have *unnecessarily figured up* and called *will*." He had better replace the mask.

(36.) "*Almanach de Gotha.* Annuaire Diplomatique et Statistique pour l'année, 1859. Quatre-vingt-seizième année." (24mo., pp. 886. Gotha: Justus Perthes.) We suppose ourselves to be indebted to our friend Westermann for this unique little annual. It is a small but compact and solid cube of information, in French, touching the calendar of the year to come, the genealogy of the royalties of Europe, the annals of the year past, and miscellanea hardly elsewhere to be found. Five miniatures of European illustrissimi adorn the earlier part. The author, L. Davanture, announces, in a style of polite gratitude, to his numerous patrons in all quarters of the globe, that on account of declining health the work will be discontinued. This is therefore to us a *primus-ultimus*.

(37.) "*Abridgment of the Debates of Congress, from 1789 to 1856* By the Author of the *Thirty Years' View*." Vol. IX. (8vo., pp. 780. New York: Appleton & Co. 1858.) This great national work is well entitled to the epithet of "*The Benton Legacy*." It will be a great standing reference for ages. The present volume extends through the administration of John Quincy Adams.

V.—Educational.

(38.) "*A Treatise on the Greek Prepositions, and on the cases of Nouns with which these are used.* By GESSNER HARRISON, M.D., Professor of Latin in the University of Virginia." (8vo., pp. 498. Philadelphia: Lippincott & FOURTH SERIES, VOL. XI.—11

Co. 1858.) Professor Harrison contributes an important share, in connection with Professors Bledsoe, Holmes, and Cabell, to the honorable reputation of the University of Virginia. The present is not his first philological obligation conferred upon the scholarship of our country; and when we consider that his fundamental researches are pursued amid the pressing labors of the practical instructor in an American college, the industry is as admirable as the talent.

We owe not much ceremony to that pseudo-practicality which professes to despise the men who can "chase a particle through a library." He is a simpleton who imagines that a *preposition* is small in importance, because it is small in size. The nails and spikes of a ship are small in magnitude. But when Agib, the son of Cassim, in the "Arabian Nights," navigating too near the load-stone mountain, found his nails and spikes extracted from his ship, more neatly than a modern dentist could draw one's teeth, he discovered that nails and spikes are not so unimportant as they are minute. As the relations of things are often immensely more important than the things themselves, so relational terms in language are often more important than substantive. If we rightly remember, in "The Battle of the Books," so learnedly fought between those two stately octavos, "Stuart on Romans" and "Hodge on Romans," a large burden of the argument hinges upon the difference between *ὅτι* *καί* and *καὶ* *ὅτι*. Gibbon very well knew that there was no truthfulness in the sarcasm, that in the days of the Homœousians and the Homoiousians "the whole world was in arms about a diphthong;" for that diphthong expressed an infinite difference.

In the details of his process, Professor Harrison has not obliged himself to gather his examples, or rather his subjects, of analytical examination, from the wide-spread surface of classical literature; but has made use of such collections as the labors of others had made to his hand. To take, then, the primary and elemental idea of the particle, and trace the delicate windings and branchings, by which, without ever, perhaps, losing some trace of its original import, it attains to unexpected and difficultly-explained applications, is a process of the most exquisitely subtle logic. Such a process is not merely a mental curiosity, but a genuine utility in the matter of attaining perfection in the results of interpretation.

Take the particle *ἐν*, identical doubtless with our preposition *in*. It is by a very summary and uncouth method that a polemic will tell us that "in many cases it means *with*;" and refer us to the passages where it presents such meaning, and there leave it. It cannot well be believed to change from the import of *in* to *with*, without our being able, if the literature of the subject be within reach, to trace the natural route by which the conception *in* has run into the conception *with*; and then the latter conception will, in all probability, show a remainder of the former. The particle will still in a sense signify *in*. Very plainly *Ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ* signifies in the house; the subject being supposed completely surrounded or enveloped by the container. And that is its natural, complete meaning. When, therefore, a subject is said to be baptized *ἐν ὕδατι*, it certainly somehow means baptized *in water*; and so we must say even *ἐν* (*ἐν*) *spirit*. That is, the primary idea that the element is a *surrounders* and a *container* is not wholly lost. Whether the subject be submerged in the ele-

ment, or the element enwrap the subject, he is still *in*. If the rain drizzle or sprinkle upon him, he is *in the rain*. And then come abridgments of the element, which, however reduced, the subject is still *in*. From requiring that the subject shall be completely enclosed by the element, our preposition will allow him to be touched with the element upon your finger-tip, and still be *in*. So in the Septuagint Greek, Ezek. xvi, 9, "*I washed thee in water, ἐν ὕδατι*"; if we must have complete immersion, what shall we do with the clause following: *I anointed thee ἐν ἔλαιῳ in oil*? The very parallel clause will show that the preposition allows the element to be applied, by abridgment, in the slightest quantity to the subject, without wholly losing its reference to its original conception of *in*.

The stately volume is done up in handsome style by Lippincott & Co.; more with a liberal purpose, we apprehend, to do honor to our native scholarship, than with the expectation of a "*great run*;" and yet we would hope our scholarly market sufficiently large to make it "*pay*."

(39.) "*First Principles of Physics*; or, Natural Philosophy. Designed for the Use of Schools and Colleges. By BENJAMIN SILLIMAN, Jr., Professor in Yale College. With six hundred and seventy-seven Illustrations." (12mo., pp. 720. Philadelphia: H. C. Peck & Theo. Bliss. 1859.) This work will maintain a pre-eminent standing among our academic manuals in physical science. It embodies the latest words in that department. Its statements are clear, its illustrations copious, and the different topics are given with a fullness not usual in previous books of this class.

(40.) "*Elements of Natural Philosophy*, designed for Academies and High Schools. By ELIAS LOOMIS, Professor in the University of New York. With three hundred and sixty Illustrations." (Pp. 351. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1858.) This excellent manual is less full than Professor Silliman's, but the name of its author assures its value for the class who need a work of its grade.

(41.) *The Ministry of Life*. By MARIA LOUISA CHARLESWORTH, Author of "*Ministering Children*," etc., etc. (12mo., pp. 465. New-York: Carlton & Porter. 1858.) That this is a work by the authoress of "*Ministering Children*," is a fact that will awaken the attention of thousands of expectant readers.

(42.) "*The Hand-book of Standard or American Phonography*. In five parts. By ANDREW J. GRAHAM, Conductor of the Phonetic Academy, New York." (New York: A. J. Graham, Phonetic Depot.) This work is the production of a gentleman who is at the head of his profession as a phonographer, and has done much for the diffusion of that beautiful art. It furnishes perhaps the best aid extant for a full acquirement by easy steps and lucid explanations of the entire principles. Mr. Graham has furnished some modifications of Pitman's system, by which, as we are informed by high professional authority, the contractions are rendered more effective, and the rapidity of the reporter's performance is greatly accelerated. If we are rightly in-

formed, the improvements are practically so self-demonstrative as to secure their immediate acceptance by practical reporters.

Mr. Graham has, we are gratified to say, established a Phonetic Depot in 348 Broadway, (upper room,) at which the best furnishings for the phonographer, as blank "note books," pens, and books, can be procured.

VI.—*Belles-Lettres.*

(43.) "*The Poetical Works of FITZ-GREENE HALLECK.* New Edition." (12mo., pp. 235. New York: Appleton & Co. 1858.) We do not pretend to dispute the public concord that Bryant is prince of American poets. Even here in our own Quarterly vatican, where we are brief, official pope, as the readers of our third article will perceive, it is allowed to go as the official faith that his throne is undisputed. But then in our own beating heart, in long-cherished memory, we persist in retaining a darling heresy of our own. "I do not care who is your president," said Father Taylor some years ago in Faneuil Hall; "Daniel Webster has been my president this twenty years." We care not a demisemiquaver who is the public coronate; Fitz-Greene, the wizard, has been our laureate ever since our boyhood; ever since before our teens we accidentally pulled a nice-looking pamphlet from a lawyer's pile of literary rubbish, and began to read:

"Fanny was younger once than she is now,
And prettier of course,"

and our entranced soul floated along the current of facile and magic verse until we waked at the end from too brief an elysian dream, to wonder why it stopped; the laurel has been, to our mind's eye, upon that brow. We remember that Fanny was for a long time out of publication; and a friend of ours, like-spirited with ourself, imagining that the author, like the ostrich, had forgotten his offspring, sent many a mile to a college library to procure the relic, in order to copy it in manuscript and keep it as you would an antique, both for its perfection and its rarity. And the fluent language, the witty allusions, the magic power of transforming the objects of the moment into poetry, and now and then the spontaneous soar of the verse, twined themselves in our earlier memories.

There was a certain John Rodman Drake, who always appeared to our own fancy a myth; a sort of reduplication or *doppelganger*, as the Teutons call it, of Halleck himself. The genius of each seemed so peculiar, so genuinely poetic, and yet the two were so like, that it seemed to us a little fanciful to suppose that two such should live in so unpoetical an age in the same most unpoetical of countries. And then to this being, real or imaginary, Halleck addresses an elegy containing words of tenderness, running in as sweet verse as ever poet wrought:

"Green be the turf above thee,
Friend of my better days;
None knew thee but to love thee,
None named thee but to praise," etc.

It is true that there was published Drake's Culprit Fay, a fancy piece, written, one might suppose, to show that true genius could as easily shed the hues of

poetry over the sceneries of our own virgin land as could Theocritus over the plains of Arcadia. But the wonderful resemblance to the style of Halleck, and the close similarity of the very volume of his poems with that of Halleck, produced in our wits the ineradicable crotchet that they were but two volumes produced by the different sides of the same soul.

The beautiful versification of Halleck, the most delicate and dreamy imagery, the satire that wakens not a pang but a smile in its object, the power not only of creating in the reader's mind a poetic conception, but of entrancing him with a poetic frame of feeling, are surpassed by no living poet. His "*Marco Bozzaris*" is none the less excellent because it has so touched the popular heart as to become trite. His "*The world is bright before thee,*" is exquisite feeling in the most inimitable language. . . . We have the heart but not the room to say more.

(44.) "*The Golden Age*. By LUTHER W. PECK, A. M." (16mo., pp. 208. New York: E. Goodenough, 122 Nassau-street. 1859.) We have here a new and promising candidate for the poetic laurel, exercising his gift, in rich and copious style, upon one of the noblest subjects. The old Anacreontic poets chanted their uproarious eulogies of wine and revel. Yet they never made the nine Muses quaff the purple stream, nor tinged the cheeks of the Graces with an alcoholic glow. The true inspiring draught from the Castalian fount was "the bright and the sparkling water." And as his theme is thus exhilarating, our young author has expanded it with perhaps something of the true inspiration of the poet. The topic is wrought into a narrative and dramatic form of no little interest.

Here is a description scarce unworthy of the poet of the Seasons:

"Upon the evening breeze a whisper came
That answered Nay! 'Twas but the rising storm,
For soon an ashy cloud, that turned to black,
O'erspread the sky. The rapid lightning sprang
From peak to peak along the mountains blue,
And shook his quiver in his thunder-home.
The big drops fell, and wet with copious shower
The blooming gardens and the sheltered lawn,
And cooled the sultry street. The sun smiled out
As if through tears, and on the distant mist
A rainbow threw, one end of which did rest
Upon the battlement of heaven. And there
Cloud-wrapped, and gazing on the earth, appeared
An angel being with folded wing of fire,
Just come perchance from far Orion's suns,
Or flaming Sirius, to pause awhile
Within the orbit of our earth. And now
He seemed to stand, observant of the roar
Of river and distant cataract, and hum
Of cities teeming with a busy life,
Marked clearly by an angel's thrilling sense."

(45.) "*Hypatia; or, New Foes with Old Faces*. By CHARLES KINGSLEY, JUN., Rector of Evesley. Sixth Edition." (12mo., pp. 487. Boston: Crosby, Nichols, & Co. 1857.) In this, perhaps the most brilliant of Mr. Kingsley's productions, he maintains a triple aim; namely, to furnish the attractions of the ordinary romance in a skillful and well-managed narrative, to give a vivid

and truthful representation of a remarkable historical period, and to develop an exhibition of a great principle.

The first of these objects he attains by the display of an inventive power in the plot and incidents, by a racy dramatic life, by a vividness and burnish of style, and the most perfect mastery of all the resources of our flexile English tongue. Works like these are, in ordinary parlance, classed in the genus novel. But their species is widely divergent from that *Rosa Matilda* class which, with but the first of the above triple aims, rests satisfied with playing upon the fancy through the idle hours. To depict a remarkable age, and illustrate a master principle in a high-wrought fiction, is to furnish no ordinary product of intellect and no ordinary instrument of power.

The principle which Mr. Kingsley seeks to impress in this work is, that Christianity is, in its intrinsic character, truly adapted to meet the demands of our nature, and to secure a social well-being. This is precisely the reverse of the impression which the *History* by Gibbon, of the same period, is calculated, and was no doubt intended to produce. The heroine selected by Mr. Kingsley was not, apparently, the subject from which his lesson was most likely to be educed. Hypatia was the very queen of the Pagan Neo-Platonic philosophy, who embodied that error in all the attractions of rank, talent, and beauty, and fell a martyr to the rage of the Christian Bishop Cyril. Whether, then, so far as the due inculcation of the principle is concerned, the work is a success or, as Mr. Bayne maintains, a failure, we leave to the decision of its readers.

(46.) "*Sir Walter Raleigh and his Time.* With other papers. By CHARLES KINGSLEY, Author of *Hypatia*," &c. (12mo., pp. 461. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 1859.) Of Charles Kingsley, as a spirited essayist, an eloquent preacher, a brilliant novelist, and a bold doctrinary, we had occasion to speak in the *Quarterly Synopsis* of a former number. The present selection from his miscellanies is characterized by the striking qualities of the author's mind, and are eminently redolent of the spirit of our day. Mr. Kingsley's feelings and principles have been powerfully influenced by the writings of Carlyle and Coleridge, and the mannerism of the former, in a mitigated degree, can occasionally be traced in the style of the present productions.

With Walter Raleigh and the great spirits of the Elizabethan age, Mr. Kingsley cherishes a warm sympathy. Originally contributed to the *North British Review*, this article draws, with an enthusiastic pencil, a life-sketch of that hero. But to us the most attractive part of this volume is the *Four Lectures on "Alexandria and her Schools."* Indeed Alexandria, in the days of her intellectual renown, was a striking type of our own age. In the general commixture of nations, the meeting face to face of opposite opinions, the excitement, political and religious, the eager stretch after gain, and the confident hope of a better future, Alexandria was very much a miniature picture of our nineteenth century. From the reformed pagan philosophy of Alexandria, Coleridge & Co. have borrowed their Neo-Platonic philosophy. From the Christian philosophy of Alexandria, as held by Origen and Clement, Rev. Mr. Kingsley is inclined to import an alternative for our more Romanic orthodoxy, which may save our falling age.

(47.) "*Bitter-Sweet: a Poem.* By J. G. HOLLAND, Author of 'The Bay Path,' 'Titcomb's Letters,' etc. (12mo., pp. 220. New York: Charles Scribner. 1858.) The author of "Bitter-Sweet" has felicitously caused the sweet to predominate in his poem; and yet not so exclusively as to pall upon the taste. We might take the liberty to differ from the author in his theological views of the position of moral evil in the *Divine plan* of the universe, yet he maintains his peculiar views with earnestness and ability. There is a healthful glow of sentiment, and a presentation of pleasant pictures of rural life, which could only have been given by one who has beheld and admired the beautiful scenes of nature. The first line of the speech of Ruth, on page 76, we think hardly in keeping with the general good taste of the book. The reader will, however, find on almost every page of "Bitter-Sweet" passages of great poetic beauty, gems of the glorious art to which the author not immodestly aspires. So many books of a doubtful or positively bad character are daily issued from the press, it is gratifying to meet occasionally with one so pure and vigorous in its tone. We predict for this book a decided success.

P.

(48.) "*The Pilgrim's Progress from this World to that which is to come.* Delivered under the Similitude of a Dream. By JOHN BUNYAN. With Twenty Illustrations, drawn by George Thomas, and engraved by W. L. Thomas." (4to., pp. 223. New York: Carter & Brothers. 1859.) Here comes the immortal tinker of Elstow in blue and gold! His fine old Saxon words are stamped in liberal type upon the broad quarto page. His live conceptions, once "delivered under the similitude of a dream," are here delivered under the similitude of a score of colored pictorials. The Carters have had a presentiment that Christmas is ahead, and that Santa Claus may wish to come into your premises with Bunyan in his wallet.

(49.) "*New England's Chattels; or, Life in the Northern Poor-House.*" (12mo., pp. 484. New York: H. Dayton. 1858.) We understand this *not* to be a Southern retort upon the North for Uncle Tom; but a *bona fide* effort to expose real abuses in the pauper houses in New England. If such abuses exist we trust the author and his coadjutors will press their exposures until they are fully reformed. We are happily not afraid that he will be lynched for his vivid pictures or his bold invectives. No politician will make it a matter of state pride to defend the cruelties of New England's "peculiar institutions." No grave professor in a scientific treatise will, in a rabid moment, charge him with "wicked fanaticism." He will be patiently heard, and if he make out a case the evil will be reformed. If he prove incorrect, he will simply be left "solitary and alone."

(50.) "*Blonde and Brunette; or, Gothamite Arcady.*" (Pp. 316. New York: Appleton & Co. 1858.) A very pretty-looking novellette. What is its merit we know not, not having penetrated its interior. We judge by its title that it is a discussion of the comparative merits of two rival classes of feminine complexion; a point of physiology we prefer to leave to our juniors.

VII.—Miscellaneous.

"*Bertram Noel. A Story for Youth.* By E. J. MAY." (12mo., pp. 359. New York: Appleton & Co. 1859.)

"*Meta Gray; or, What makes Home Happy.* By M. J. M'INTOSH." (12mo., pp. 207. New York: Appleton & Co. 1859.)

"*Legends and Lyrics. A Book of Verses.* By ADELAIDE ANNE PROCUTOR." (12mo., pp. 264. New York: Appleton & Co. 1858.)

"*Mensuration and Practical Geometry.* By CHARLES HASWELL." (12mo., pp. 322. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1858.)

"*The Power of Prayer, Illustrated in the wonderful Displays of Divine Grace at the Fulton-street and other meetings in New York and elsewhere in 1857 and 1858.* By SAMUEL IRENEUS PRIME." (12mo., pp. 373. New York: C. Scribner. 1859.)

"*Story of Bethlehem. A Book for the Young.* By J. R. MACDUFF, D.D." (18mo., pp. 202. New York: Carter & Brothers. 1859.)

"*Night Caps.* By the author of Aunt Fanny's Christmas Stories." (18mo., pp. 171. New York: Appleton & Co. 1859.)

"*Jessie; or, trying to be Somebody.* By WATLER AIMWELL. With illustrations." (18mo., pp. 320. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1859.)

Of the following, notices will appear in our next number:

"*Rational Cosmology; or, The Eternal Principles and the Necessary Laws of the Universe.* By LAURENS P. HICKOK, D.D., Union College." (12mo., pp. 397. New York: Appleton & Co. 1858.)

"*The Emancipation of Faith.* By the late HENRY EDWARD SCHEDEL, M.D., Laureate of the Hospitals of Paris, etc. Edited by George Schedel." (2 vols. 8vo., pp. 470, 482. New York: Appleton & Co. 1858.)

We are not of course expected to limit our contributors to the expression of opinions coinciding with our own, nor are we to be held responsible for all the opinions expressed by our contributors.

The place occupied by the child in the Christian Church is matter for fair and fraternal discussion. By an almost unconscious movement of sentiment we have come to a unanimity upon the principle that *all infants are saved*; but the question how saved, and what is their precise moral condition, is nearly a *casus omnisus*, a blank spot, in our theology. Are they saved without justification or regeneration before death? Are they simply justified by a separation of regeneration from justification? Can they properly receive the being "born of water" without being previously "born of the spirit."

We do not think that many will agree that infant communion logically follows from infant regeneration, or from infant baptism. Baptism, like circumcision, may be a mere receptivity. But communion, like the passover, is a responsible act, requiring a responsible agent to "show forth the Lord's death," and to meet the other prescribed requisites in the ritual for all recipients. We think that the advocate of infant regeneration weakens his cause by appending to it the sequence of infant or childhood communion. But as the latter does not logically follow, so its deduction by a particular advocate is no legitimate argument against the former.

The article upon Jefferson furnishes the favorable view of his character. There is another phase, held as the truer one by many observers, and which will be pronounced the true one, perhaps, by the severe pen of history.

In our last Quarterly we extracted from the North British Review part of a notice of a poetic work by an unknown Canadian poet, entitled "*Saul, a Drama in Three Parts.*" This poem is described as truly Shakspearian in its masterly development of mental nature, and its power of supernatural creativeness. We learn by the Canadian correspondent of the Zion's Herald, that this rare unknown is Mr. Heirsache, a mechanic of Montreal. He has written also "*The Revolt of Tartarus,*" and a little volume of sonnets, both printed for private circulation only.